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A
COLLECTION
OF THE MOST CELEBRATED
VOYAGES & TRAVELS,
FROM THE
DISCOVERY OF AMERICA
TO THE PRESENT TIME.
ARRANGED IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER, GEOGRAPHICAL AND
CHRONOLOGICAL.
THE WHOLE EXHIBITING
A FAITHFUL AND LIVELY
DELINEATION OF THE WORLD.
CAREFULLY SELECTED FROM WRITERS OF DIFFERENT NATIONS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By R. P. FORSTER, Esq.

*Illustrated and Embellished with correct Maps, and beautiful
Engravings.*

SECOND EDITION.

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PREFACE.

THE science which treats of human nature as diversified in appearances and conditions, among the various countries of the world, is eminently important both in its origin and tendency. It arises from an affectionate curiosity respecting our species, and it prompts to enterprizes the most noble and beneficial. In this sublime feeling, man recognizes the dignity of his nature, and the means of consummating his greatest glory—for the most glorious actions are likewise the most useful; and nothing contributes so materially to human happiness, as those enquiries and pursuits that extend the boundaries of knowledge, and thus unite the far separated inhabitants of the earth, by a reciprocal exchange of the blessings of different climates.

IN the narratives of the adventurous voyager and the curious traveller, the Reader finds novelty combined with information. He enters into their views with a relish proportioned to the dangers they have encountered, or the diligence and resolution they have displayed. He attends a COLUMBUS, a COOK, a PARK, or a BRUCE, through their noble and hazardous enterprizes, and reaps the benefit of the acquisition and the pleasure of the description, without the danger and the toil. This study is also incomparably more fascinating than the extravagant fictions of certain novels, which are made the vehicle for spreading the contagion of erroneous sentiments, and vicious principles. The perusal of VOYAGES AND TRAVELS may, therefore, be recommended to Youth with peculiar propriety, as the safest and most pleasant mode of expanding the mind and humanizing the heart.

SEVERAL writers of great celebrity have published splendid and voluminous collections of voyages and travels. But the expence attending the purchase of these extensive works, and the dry, stale digressions with which they are frequently interlarded, render them unfit for general use; and indicate the propriety and utility of such a selection, as might amuse without fatiguing, and convey the most requisite information, at a price convenient even to the humblest class of society.

To accomplish this object the Editor proposes to give a brief, connected, and lively account of the most celebrated and interesting voyages, travels, shipwrecks, and adventures, arranged in such chronological and geographical order, as to mark the *Progress of Discovery*, and exhibit a complete DISPLAY OF THE WORLD. He will also divest the original narratives as far as possible of technical phrases and cumbrous minutiae, carefully preserving every circumstance that can entertain the fancy or enlarge the understanding; nor shall any allusion appear offensive to youthful innocence or female delicacy. This work may, therefore, be confidently prescribed to the Teachers of Youth, and the Heads of Families, as one of the best and most agreeable inmates they can possess.

THE present time has been so eminently distinguished by a successful exhibition of the daring spirit of discovery, as to ensure a favourable reception to a collection like the following; as there can be no doubt, that the interest afforded by scientific expeditions, or important discoveries, is in a great measure proportioned to the nearness to our own times in which they are executed. It is indeed consolatory to reflect, that though the civilized world has long been engaged in wars, the most extensive and terrible ever recorded, yet the boundaries of science, and the researches of knowledge,

have been extended with unparalleled success and rapidity.

THE Engravings which embellish this interesting work will, it is hoped, in point of execution, claim general approbation; and the Maps, which are executed in the manner of Arrowsmith, will be found more beautiful and accurate than any that have appeared in similar publications. In short, no expence has been spared, nor will any labour be avoided, to render the work worthy the patronage of the public.

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THE FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

THE discovery of the mariner's compass has been productive of greater events, than any other recorded in the annals of the human race. It opened to them a grand and ample field to display their talents, their enterprize, and courage. It invested them with the dominion both of the sea and the earth, by facilitating the communication between the most distant parts. Navigators gradually abandoned their ancient, timid, and lingering, course along the shore, ventured boldly into the ocean, and relying on this new guide could steer in the darkest nights, and under the most cloudy sky, with a security and precision hitherto unknown.

But this beneficial invention did not produce its full effect instantaneously. Sailors, unaccustomed to quit sight of land, durst not launch at once and commit themselves to unknown seas. Accordingly, near half a century elapsed before navigators ventured to proceed much beyond the ancient limits of navigation. The first appearance of a bolder spirit may be

dated from the voyages of the Spaniards to the Canary or Fortunate islands. The glory, however, of leading the way in this new course of enterprize and discovery was reserved for Portugal, one of the smallest and least powerful of the European kingdoms. The exploits of the Portuguese opened a new sphere to navigation, and roused such a spirit of curiosity and enterprize as led to the discovery of the **NEW WORLD**. It was in this school that the immortal discoverer of America was trained.

The history of the illustrious name with which we commence our work, is so connected with his voyages and discoveries, that it is best delineated from them. Of the parentage and early education of **COLUMBUS**, little is authentically known. He was born at Genoa in 1442; and will ever be one of the most distinguished honours of that state. His father, it is supposed, was a wool-comber, and that himself was at first destined for the same occupation. Be that as it may, it appears that he studied mathematics with assiduity and success at the university of Pavia; and this study, afterwards carried into action, by the practice of navigation, led him to form juster notions of the figure of the earth, than any of his contemporaries, and to extend the boundaries of knowledge and of the world.

The correct idea this great mind had conceived of the terra-queous globe, gave birth to his design; but the imperfection of all the maps then to be consulted, made him mistake the object. He proposed to find a nearer passage to the Indies and China, by sailing westward. Venice and Genoa, at that time, engrossed almost the whole trade of Europe; and, in consequence, a rivalry and jealousy, which had given rise to frequent wars, always existed between them. Venice, however, maintained her superiority: she had drawn to herself nearly the collected commerce of the East, which had been hitherto carried on by way of Egypt and the Red sea.

As Columbus was a native of the rival state, it is probable that a spirit of patriotism first animated his views of discovering a more direct passage to India; and, by that means, of transferring this lucrative trade to his own country. But timid

caution, reinforced by incredulity, deprived Genoa of the advantages intended for her. Columbus having discharged the duty of a good citizen, by making in vain his first proposal of prosecuting discoveries for the benefit of his country, felt himself free from the obligation which nature had imposed on his services. His next application was to the court of France, but with no better success. Henry VII. then filled the throne of England; and to that prince Columbus dispatched his brother Bartholomew on the same business. This ill-fated adventurer was taken and plundered by pirates on his passage, and, on his arrival in London, was reduced to such extreme poverty, that he could not make a sufficiently decent appearance to demand an audience of the king. But persevering diligence seems to have been characteristic of this family. Bartholomew by drawing and selling maps and charts, soon acquired some reputation; and having equipped himself in a proper style for gaining access to the English sovereign, obtained this honour in 1484; and met with such encouragement, that he actually entered into an agreement with Henry on behalf of his brother, several years before Christopher had finally secured a patron. It is well known, however, that this country lost the honour that was put within its grasp.

While Bartholomew was soliciting the English court, the great projector, his brother, had made a personal application to the government of Portugal, where he experienced nothing but ridicule and contempt.

In superior minds there is a firmness that rises above ordinary disappointments, and in all projectors there is an enthusiasm, absolutely necessary to give efficacy to their schemes. Columbus was not to be depressed. He now repaired to Castile, and offered his services to Ferdinand and Isabella. For eight days he submitted to delays, to insults, and to the presumption of ignorance, till his patience was at last exhausted; and he had actually taken leave of Castile, in order to proceed to England in quest of his brother, with whose fortune he was totally unacquainted. He was, however, unexpectedly recalled by the queen, Isabella, at the earnest importunity of her confessor; and her majesty was now pre-

vailed on to accede to the demand of Columbus, and to furnish him with money for his expedition.

The patient projector was raised to the rank of admiral; and it was stipulated that all civil employments, in the islands and continent to be discovered, should be wholly at his disposal; that he should nominate judges in Spain for India affairs; and over and above the salaries and perquisites of admiral, viceroy, and governor, he should have a certain share in the profits of the foreign trade and the domestic imports from his discoveries.

These preliminaries being adjusted, he repaired to Palos, to superintend the equipment of the little fleet entrusted to his command. This consisted of three small vessels, the *Santa Maria*, carrying the admiral's flag; the *Pinta*, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon; and the *Nigna*, captain Vincent Yanez Pinzon, the brother of the former, both natives of Palos.

The fleet being furnished with provisions and necessities, and manned with 97 men, set sail, on Saturday, the 3d of August, 1492; and, humble as the strength and equipment of this squadron would appear in modern times, it has led to more important events than any expedition ever undertaken by man; and was pregnant with the fate of both worlds. Next morning the rudder of the *Pinta* broke loose, which disaster was supposed to have arisen from some who were averse to the voyage; but Pinzon, the captain, being an able seaman, soon repaired the damage, and they proceeded on their voyage till Tuesday, when the rudder again gave way, and forced the admiral a second time to lie by. This accident, the superstitious and the fearful interpreted as an ill omen; but Columbus rightly observed, that no omen could be evil where men were engaged in a good design. With some difficulty they steered the disabled ship as far as the Canaries, which they discovered early on Thursday morning. Columbus refitted them, however, to the best of his power, and having supplied himself with fresh provisions, he took his departure for Gomera, one of the most westerly of the Canary islands, on the 6th of September.

Here the voyage of discovery may properly be said to begin; for Columbus holding his course due west, left immediately the usual track of navigation, and stretched into unfrequented and unknown seas. The first day, as it was very calm, he made but little way; but on the second, he lost sight of the Canaries; and many of the sailors, dejected already and dismayed, when they contemplated the boldness of the undertaking, began to beat their breasts, and to shed tears, as if they were never more to behold land. Columbus comforted them with assurances of success, and the prospect of vast wealth, in those opulent regions whether he was conducting them. This early discovery of the spirit of his followers taught Columbus, that he must prepare to struggle, not only with the unavoidable difficulties which might be expected from the nature of his undertaking, but with such as were likely to arise from the ignorance and timidity of the people under his command; and he perceived, that the art of governing the minds of men would be no less requisite for accomplishing the discoveries which he had in view, than naval skill and undaunted courage. Happily for himself, and for the country by which he was employed, he joined to the ardent temper and inventive genius of a projector, virtues of another species, which are rarely united with them. He possessed a thorough knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, a patient perseverance in executing any plan, the perfect government of his own passions, and the talent of acquiring an ascendant over those of other men. All these qualities, which formed him for command, were accompanied with that superior knowledge of his profession, which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger. To unskilful Spanish sailors, accustomed only to coasting voyages in the Mediterranean, the maritime science of Columbus, the fruit of thirty years experience, improved by an acquaintance with all the inventions of the Portuguese, appeared immense. As soon as they put to sea, he regulated every thing by his sole authority; he superintended the execution of every order; and allowing himself only a few hours for sleep, he was at all other times on deck. As his course lay through seas which had not been visited, the sounding-line,

or instruments for observation, were continually in his hands. After the example of the Portuguese discoverers, he attended to the motion of tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearance of fishes, of sea-weeds, and of every thing that floated on the waves, and entered every occurrence, with a minute exactness, in the journal which he kept. As the length of the voyage could not fail of alarming sailors habituated only to short excursions, Columbus endeavoured to conceal from them the real progress which they made. With this view, though they run 18 leagues on the second day after they left Gomera, he gave out that they had only advanced fifteen, and he uniformly employed the same artifice of reckoning short during the whole voyage. By the 14th of September, the whole fleet was above 200 leagues to the west of the Canary isles, at a greater distance from land than any Spaniard had been before that time. There they were struck with an appearance no less astonishing than new. They observed that the magnetic needle, in their compasses, did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. This appearance, which is now familiar, though it still remains one of the mysteries of nature, into the cause of which the sagacity of man hath not been able to penetrate, filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in a boundless and unknown ocean, far from the usual course of navigation; nature itself seemed to be altered, and the only guide which they had left was about to fail them. Columbus, with no less quickness than ingenuity, invented a reason for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, seemed so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears, or silenced their murmurs.

He still continued to steer due west, nearly in the same latitude with the Canary islands. In this course he came within the sphere of the *trade-wind*, which blows invariably from east to west, between the tropics and a few degrees beyond them. He advanced before this steady gale, with such uniform rapidity, that it was seldom necessary to shift a sail. When about 400 leagues to the west of the Canaries, he found the sea so covered with weeds, that it resembled a meadow of

hands. attended sight of every occurrence, As the habitué to con- With day after advanced e of rec- of Sep- e west of any Spa- luck with observed not point ; and as pearance, the mys- y of man anions of dless and vigation ; ide which th no less pearance, plausible murmurs. the same he came invariably egrees be- with such shift a sail. he found meadow of vast extent, and in some places they were so thick, as to retard the motion of the vessels. This strange appearance occasioned new alarm and disquiet. The sailors imagined that they were now arrived at the utmost boundary of the navigable ocean ; that these floating weeds would obstruct their further progress, and concealed dangerous rocks, or some large tract of land, which had sunk, they knew not how, in that place. Columbus endeavoured to persuade them, that what had alarmed, ought rather to have encouraged them, and was to be considered as a sign of approaching land. At the same time, a brisk gale arose, and carried them forward. Several birds were seen hovering about the ship, and directed their course towards the west. The desponding crew resumed some degree of spirit, and began to entertain fresh hopes.

Upon the 1st of October they were, according to the admiral's reckoning, 770 leagues to the west of the Canaries ; but lest his men should be intimidated by the prodigious length of the navigation, he gave out that they had proceeded only 584 leagues ; and, fortunately for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor those of the other ships, had skill sufficient to correct this error, and discover this deceit. They had now been about three weeks at sea ; they had proceeded far beyond what former navigators had attempted or deemed possible ; all their prognostics of discovery, drawn from the flight of birds and other circumstances, had proved fallacious ; the appearances of land, with which their own credulity or the artifice of their commander had from time to time flattered and amused them, had been altogether illusive, and their prospect of success seemed now to be as distant as ever. These reflections occurred often to men who had no other object or occupation, than to reason and discourse concerning the intention and circumstances of their expedition. They made impressions, at first, upon the ignorant and timid, and extending, by degrees, to such as were better informed or more resolute, the contagion spread at length from ship to ship. From secret whispers or murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and public complaints. They taxed their sovereign with inconsiderate credulity, in paying such regard to the vain promises and rash

conjectures of an indigent foreigner, as to hazard the lives of so many of her own subjects, in prosecuting a chimerical scheme. They affirmed that they had done their duty by venturing so far in an unknown and hopeless course, and could incur no blame, for refusing to follow, any longer, a desperate adventurer to certain destruction. They contended, that it was necessary to think of returning to Spain, while their crazy vessels were still in condition to keep the sea, but expressed their fears that the attempt would prove vain, as the wind which had hitherto been so favourable to their course, must render it impossible to sail in the opposite direction. All agreed that Columbus should be compelled by force to adopt a measure on which their common safety depended. Some of the more audacious proposed, as the more expeditious and certain method for getting rid at once of his remonstrances, to throw him into the sea, being persuaded that, upon their return to Spain, the death of an unsuccessful projector would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curiosity.

Columbus was fully sensible of his perilous situation. He had observed with great uneasiness, the fatal operations of ignorance and of fear in producing disaffection among his crew, and saw that it was now ready to burst out into open mutiny. He retained, however, perfect presence of mind. He affected to seem ignorant of their machinations. Notwithstanding the agitation and solicitude of his own mind, he appeared with a cheerful countenance, like a man satisfied with the progress he had made, and confident of success. Sometimes he employed all the arts of insinuation to sooth his men. Sometimes he endeavoured to work upon their ambition and avarice, by magnificent descriptions of the fame and wealth, which they were about to acquire. On other occasions, he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if, by their dastardly behaviour, they should defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and to exalt even the Spanish name above that of every other nation. Even with seditious sailors, the words of a man whom they had been accustomed to reverence, were weighty and persuasive, and not only restrained them from those violent excesses,

which they meditated, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral for some time longer.

As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land seemed to be more certain, and excited hope in proportion. The birds began to appear in flocks, making towards the south-west. Columbus, in imitation of the Portuguese navigators, who had been guided, in several of their discoveries, by the motion of birds, altered their course from due west towards that quarter whether they pointed their flight. But, after holding on for several days in this new direction, without any better success than formerly, having seen no object, during thirty days, but the sea and the sky, the hopes of his companions subsided faster than they had risen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair, appeared in every countenance. All sense of subordination was lost; the officers, who had hitherto concurred with Columbus in opinion, and supported his authority, now took part with the private men; they assembled tumultuously on the deck, expostulated with their commander, mingled threats with their expostulations, and required him instantly to tack about and to return to Europe. Columbus perceived that it would be of no avail to have recourse to any of his former arts, which having been tried so often, had lost their effect; and that it was impossible to rekindle any zeal for the success of the expedition among men, in whose breasts fear had extinguished every generous sentiment. He saw that it was no less vain to think of employing either gentle or severe measures to quell a mutiny so general and so violent. It was necessary, on all these accounts, to sooth passions which he could no longer command, and to give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. He promised solemnly to his men that he would comply with their request, provided they would accompany him, and obey his commands for three days longer, and if, during that time, land was not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprize and direct his course towards Spain.

Enraged as the sailors were, and impatient to turn their faces again towards their native country, this proposition did not appear to them unreasonable. Nor did Columbus hazard

much in confining himself to a term so short. The presages of discovering land were now so numerous and promising, that he deemed them infallible. For some days the sounding-line reached the bottom, and the soil which it brought up indicated land to be at no great distance. The flocks of birds increased, and were composed not only of sea-fowl, but of such land birds as could not be supposed to fly far from the shore. The crew of the *Pinta* observed a cane floating, which seemed to have been newly cut, and likewise a piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors aboard the *Nigna* took up the branch of a tree with red berries, perfectly fresh. The clouds around the setting-sun assumed a new appearance; the air was more mild and warm, and, during night, the wind became unequal and variable. From all these symptoms, Columbus was so confident of being near land, that on the evening of the 11th of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie-to, keeping strict watch, lest they should be driven ashore in the night. During this interval of success and expectation, no man shut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intensely towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land, which had been so long the object of their wishes.

About two hours before midnight, Columbus standing on the forecastle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Gutierrez, a page of the queen's wardrobe. Gutierrez perceived it, and calling to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it in motion, as if it were carried from place to place. A little after midnight the joyful sound of *land, land*, was heard from the *Pinta*, which kept always ahead of the other ships. But, having been so often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was become slow of belief, and waited, in all the anguish of uncertainty and impatience, for the return of day. As soon as morning dawned (Friday, October 12), all doubts and fears were dispelled. From every ship an island was seen two leagues to the north, whose flat and verdant fields, well stored with wood, and watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the *Pinta* instantly be-

gan the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and were joined by those of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. This office of gratitude to Heaven was followed by an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and had so often obstructed the prosecution of his well concerted plan; and passing, in the warmth of their admiration, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man, whom they had so lately reviled and threatened, to be inspired by Heaven with sagacity and fortitude more than human, in order to accomplish a design so far beyond the ideas and conception of all former ages.

As soon as the sun arose, all their boats were manned and armed. They rowed towards the island with their colours displayed, with warlike music, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast, they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the strange objects which presented themselves to their view. Columbus was the first European who set his foot in the *new world* which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress, and with a naked sword in his hand. His men followed and, kneeling down, they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They next erected a crucifix, and prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such a happy issue. They then took solemn possession of the country for the crown of Castile and Leon, with all the formalities which the Portuguese were accustomed to observe in acts of this kind, in their new discoveries.

The Spaniards, while thus employed, were surrounded by many of the natives, who gazed, in silent admiration, upon actions which they could not comprehend, and of which they did not foresee the consequences. The dress of the Spaniards, the whiteness of their skins, their beards, their arms, appeared

strange and surprizing. The vast machines in which they had traversed the ocean, that seemed to move upon the waters with wings, and uttered a dreadful sound resembling thunder, accompanied with lightning and smoke, struck them with such terror, that they began to respect their new guests as a superior order of beings, and concluded that they were children of the sun, who had descended to visit the earth.

The Europeans were hardly less amazed at the scene now before them. Every herb, and shrub, and tree, was different from those which flourished in Europe. The soil seemed to be rich, but bore few marks of cultivation. The climate, even to the Spaniards, felt warm, though extremely delightful. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses round their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly smooth. Their complexion was of a dusky copper colour, their features singular, rather than disagreeable, their aspect gentle and timid. Though not tall, they were well shaped, and active. Their faces, and several parts of their body, were fantastically painted with glaring colours. They were shy at first through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards, and with transports of joy received from them hawks-bells, glass beads, or other baubles, in return for which they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value that they could produce. Towards evening, Columbus returned to his ship, accompanied with many of the islanders in their boats, which they called *canoes*, and though rudely formed out of the trunk of a single tree, they rowed them with surprizing dexterity. Thus, in the first interview between the inhabitants of the old and new worlds, every thing was conducted amicably, and to their mutual satisfaction. The former, enlightened and ambitious, formed already vast ideas with respect to the advantages which they might derive from the regions that began to open to their view. The latter, simple and undiscerning, had no foresight of the calamities and desolation which were approaching their country.

Columbus, who now assumed the title and authority of admiral and viceroy, called the island which he had discovered *San Salvador*. It is better known by the name of *Guana-hani*, which the natives gave to it, and is one of that large cluster of islands called the Lucaya or Bahama isles. It is situated about 3,000 miles to the west of Gomera, from which the squadron took its departure, and only four degrees to the south of it; so little had Columbus deviated from the westerly course, which he had chosen as the most proper.

Columbus employed the next day in visiting the coasts of the island; and from the universal poverty of the inhabitants, he perceived that this was not the rich country for which he sought. But, conformably to his theory concerning the discovery of those regions of Asia, which stretched towards the east, he concluded that San Salvador was one of the isles which geographers described as situated in the great ocean adjacent to India. Having observed, that most of the people whom he had seen wore small plates of gold, by way of ornament, in their nostrils, he eagerly inquired where they got that precious metal. They pointed towards the south, and made him comprehend by signs, that gold abounded in countries situated in that quarter. Thither he immediately determined to direct his course, in full confidence of finding there those opulent regions which had been the object of his voyage, and would be a recompence for all his toils and dangers. He took along with him seven of the natives of San Salvador, that, by acquiring the Spanish language, they might serve as guides and interpreters; and those innocent people considered it as a mark of distinction when they were selected to accompany him.

He saw several islands, and touched at three of the largest, on which he bestowed the names of St. Mary of the Conception, Fernandina, and Isabella. But as their soil, productions, and inhabitants, nearly resembled those of San Salvador, he made no stay in any of them. He enquired every where for gold, and the signs that were uniformly made by way of answer, confirmed him in the opinion that it was brought from the south. He followed that course, and soon discovered a

country which appeared very extensive, not perfectly level, like those which he had already visited, but so diversified with rising grounds, hills, rivers, woods, and plains, that he was uncertain whether it might prove an island, or part of the continent. The natives of San Salvador, whom he had on board, called it *Cuba*; Columbus gave it the name of Juanna. He entered the mouth of a large river, with his squadron, and all the inhabitants fled to the mountains as he approached the shore. But as he resolved to careen his ships in that place, he sent some Spaniards, together with one of the people of San Salvador, to view the interior part of the country. They, having advanced above 60 miles from the shore, reported upon their return, that the soil was richer and more cultivated than any they had hitherto discovered; that, besides many scattered cottages, they had found one village, containing above a thousand inhabitants; that the people, though naked, seemed to be more intelligent than those of San Salvador, but had treated them with the same respectful attention, kissing their feet, and honouring them as sacred beings allied to Heaven; that they had given them to eat a certain root, the taste of which resembled roasted chesnuts, and likewise a singular species of corn called *maize*, which, either when roasted whole or ground into meal, was abundantly palatable; that there seemed to be no four-footed animals in the country, but a species of dogs, which could not bark, and a creature resembling a rabbit, but of a much smaller size; that they had observed some ornaments of gold among the people, but of no great value.

These messengers had prevailed with some of the natives to accompany them, who informed Columbus, that the gold of which they made their ornaments was found in *Cubanacan*. By this word they meant the middle or inland part of Cuba; but Columbus, being ignorant of their language, as well as unaccustomed to their pronunciation, and his thoughts running continually upon his own theory concerning the discovery of the East Indies, he was led, by the resemblance of sound, to suppose that they spoke of the Great Khan, and imagined that the opulent kingdom of *Cathay*, described by Marco Polo, was not very remote. This induced him to employ

some time in viewing the country. He visited almost every harbour from Porto del Principe, on the north coast of Cuba, to the eastern extremity of the island: but though delighted with the beauty of the scenes, which every way presented themselves, and amazed at the luxuriant fertility of the soil, both which, from their novelty, made a more lively impression upon his imagination, he did not find gold in such quantity as was sufficient to satisfy either the avarice of his followers, or the expectations of the court to which he was to return. The people of the country, as much astonished at his eagerness in quest of gold, as the Europeans were at their ignorance and simplicity, pointed towards the east, where an island which they called *Hayti* was situated, in which that metal was more abundant than among them. Columbus ordered his squadron to bend its course thither; but Martin Alonzo Pinzon, impatient to be the first who should take possession of the treasures which this country was supposed to contain, quitted his companions, regardless of all the admiral's signals to slacken sail until they should come up with him.

Columbus, retarded by contrary winds, did not reach *Hayti* till the 6th of December. He called the port where he first touched *St. Nicholas*, and the island itself *Espagnola*, in honour of the kingdom by which he was employed; and it is the only country, of those he had yet discovered, which has retained the name that he gave it. As he could neither meet with the *Pinta*, nor have any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled in great consternation towards the woods, he soon quitted *St. Nicholas*, and sailing along the northern coast of the island, he entered another harbour which he called *Conception*. Here he was more fortunate; his people overtook a woman who was flying from them, and after treating her with great gentleness, dismissed her with a present of such toys as they knew were most valuable in those regions. The description which she gave to her countrymen of the humanity and wonderful qualities of the strangers; their admiration of the trinkets, which she shewed with exultation; and their eagerness to participate of the same favours; removed all their fears, and induced many of them to repair to the harbour.

The strange objects which they beheld, and the baubles which Columbus bestowed upon them, amply gratified their curiosity and their wishes. They nearly resembled the people of Guanahana and Cuba. They were naked like them, ignorant, and simple; and seemed to be equally unacquainted with all the arts which appear most necessary in polished societies: but they were gentle, credulous, and timid, to a degree which rendered it easy to acquire the ascendant over them, especially as their excessive admiration led them into the same error with the people of the other islands, in believing the Spaniards to be more than mortals, and descended immediately from Heaven. They possessed gold in greater abundance than their neighbours, which they readily exchanged for bells, beads, or pins; and in this unequal traffic both parties were highly pleased, each considering themselves as gainers by the transaction. Here Columbus was visited by a prince or *cazique* of the country. He appeared with all the pomp known among a simple people, being carried in a sort of palanquin upon the shoulders of four men, and attended by many of his subjects, who served him with great respect. His deportment was grave and stately, very reserved towards his own people, but with Columbus and the Spaniards extremely courteous. He gave the admiral some thin plates of gold, and a girdle of curious workmanship, receiving in return presents of small value, but highly acceptable to him.

Columbus, still intent on discovering the mines which yielded gold, continued to interrogate all the natives with whom he had any intercourse concerning their situation. They concurred in pointing out a mountainous country, which they called *Cibao*, at some distance from the sea, and farther towards the east. Struck with this sound, which appeared to him the same with *Cipango*, the name by which Marco Polo, and other travellers to the east, distinguished the island of Japan, he no longer doubted with respect to the vicinity of the countries which he had discovered to the remote parts of Asia; and, in full expectation of reaching soon those regions which had been the object of his voyage, he directed his course towards the east. He put into a commodious harbour, which

he called *St. Thomas*, and found that district to be under the government of a powerful cazique, *Guacanahari*, who, as he afterwards learned, was one of the five sovereigns among whom the whole island was divided. He immediately sent messengers to Columbus, who, in his name, delivered to him the present of a mask curiously fashioned, with the ears, nose, and mouth of beaten gold, and invited him to the place of his residence, near the harbour now called *Cape Francois*, some leagues towards the east. Columbus dispatched some of his officers to visit this prince, who, as he behaved himself with greater dignity, seemed to claim more attention. They returned with such favourable accounts, both of the country and of the people, as made Columbus impatient for that interview with *Guacanahari* to which he had been invited.

He sailed for this purpose from *St. Thomas*, on the 24th of December, with a fair wind, and the sea perfectly calm; and as, amidst the multiplicity of his occupations, he had not shut his eyes for two days, he retired at midnight, in order to take some repose, having committed the helm to the pilot, with strict injunctions not to quit it for a moment. The pilot, dreading no danger, carelessly left the helm to an unexperienced cabin-boy, and the ship, carried away by a current, was dashed against a rock. The violence of the shock awakened Columbus. He ran up to the deck. There, all was confusion and despair. He alone retained presence of mind. He ordered some of the sailors to take a boat, and carry out an anchor astern; but, instead of obeying, they made off towards the *Nigna*, which was about half a league distant. He then commanded the masts to be cut down, in order to lighten the ship; but all his endeavours were too late; the vessel opened near the keel, and filled so fast with water that its loss was inevitable. The smoothness of the sea, and the timely assistance of boats from the *Nigna*, enabled the crew to save their lives. As soon as the islanders heard of this disaster, they crowded to the shore, with their prince *Guacanahari* at their head. Instead of taking advantage of the distress in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune with tears of

sincere condolence. Not satisfied with this unavailing expression of their sympathy, they put to sea a number of canoes, and, under the direction of the Spaniards, assisted in saving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the united labour of so many hands, almost every thing of value was carried ashore. As fast as the goods were landed Guacanahari in person took charge of them. By his orders they were all deposited in one place, and armed centinels were posted, who kept the multitude at a distance, in order to prevent them not only from embezzling, but from inspecting too curiously what belonged to their guests. Next morning this prince visited Columbus, who was now on board the *Nigna*, and endeavoured to console him for his loss, by offering all that he possessed to repair it.

The manner of the inhabitants and the productions of the country were so agreeable to the admiral, that he resolved to settle a colony here; which by maintaining a friendly intercourse with the Indians, and learning their language, might be of future benefit to the nation he served. To pursue this resolution, he was encouraged by the voluntary offers of some of his men who fell into his views, and the cazique was not a little pleased at the prospect of having such valuable allies to protect him from the invasions of the Caribbee Indians, a race of inhuman cannibals, who frequently molested his shores. The sagacity of Columbus knew how to give importance to this idea: he ordered a great gun to be fired against the side of the wreck; and the Indians seeing the bullet penetrate the sides, and then fall into the sea, regarded their guests with the same awe, and the belief that they possessed the thunder of heaven.

A tower was now constructed from the timber of the wreck, seemingly in compliance with the cazique's desire; and having furnished it with provisions, ammunition, and arms, he left a garrison of 36 men, under the joint command of three of his most trusty dependants, whom he warmly recommended to the favour and protection of the king and his people.

This business settled, he caused a few huts to be erected, and named the place *Nativity*. He then turned his thoughts

towards Spain, lest some misfortune befalling the only ship he had left, he might for ever be prevented from publishing the discoveries he had made. Accordingly, having left the most benevolent and judicious directions for the regulation of the colony's conduct, he set sail from the port of Nativity on Friday the 4th of January, 1493, at sun-rising; and made such observations as might enable him to distinguish the harbour in any future expedition. The wind being adverse, he made but little way to the eastward. On Sunday morning he fell in with the *Pinta*, captain Martin Alonso Pinzon, who, as we have previously mentioned, had deserted the admiral.—Pinzon going on board, strove to excuse his desertion by pretending that he had lost sight of his consorts during the night. Columbus was sensible of the fallacy of his pretences; but rather than prejudice the common cause, disguised his sentiments, and listened to the excuses that were made.

Pinzon, it seems, had sailed to a river 15 leagues eastward of the port of Nativity, where he had spent 16 days in bartering for gold with the natives, and in this traffic he had been pretty successful; but having distributed one half among his crew, and retained the other himself, he wished to conceal the amount. He afterwards anchored near a conical hill, which they called Monte Christo, about 18 leagues east of Cape Santo; but the weather impeding his farther progress, he went up a river in his boat, where he discovered gold-dust in the sand, and from hence gave it the appellation of the Gold-river. On the 18th of January, Columbus being near Cape Enamorado, he sent his boat ashore, where some Indians, armed with bows and arrows, and with fierce aspects, seemed disposed to make resistance. They were, however, brought to a kind of conference by means of the Salvador linguist; and one of them venturing to go on board the admiral, appeared so savage in manners and address, that the Spaniards reasonably concluded he was one of the Caribbee cannibals. This man having answered the interrogations that were put to him by signs and words, was entertained; and dismissed with such insignificant presents as seemed best suited to his taste.

At the place where he landed, 50 men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrot feathers, and armed, formed a kind of ambuscade; and notwithstanding the exhortations of their countryman, refused to have any commerce with the Spaniards; and even began to commence hostilities. Though the Europeans were only seven in number, they met the savages with great intrepidity, cut one with a sword in the buttock, and shot another with an arrow in the breast, on which the whole party fled with precipitation. The admiral was not displeased at this skirmish, as he imagined its event might increase the security of the colony left on the coast.

Columbus, continuing his course with a fair wind, made such progress that, on the 9th of February, according to the pilot's reckoning, they were south of the Azores; but by the admiral's account, which proved to be right, they were 150 leagues to the west. The favourable weather which had hitherto attended them, now began to change; the wind increased to a hurricane, and the billows ran mountains high. For some days, the vessels were tossed at the mercy of the storm, during which the two ships separated; and each supposing that the other had perished, the crews betook themselves to acts of devotion, and the admiral vowed to go on a pilgrimage to our lady of Guadaloupe; but the crew went farther: they swore to walk barefoot in their shirts, to the first church dedicated to the virgin, they could find. In tempests and distress, the Spaniards are still known to seek refuge in such kind of superstition; it is the strong hold of ignorance and the last which it quits.

A scarcity of provisions increased their calamity; and the ship wanting ballast, was in danger of being upset. For this last defect, the ingenuity of Columbus discovered an expedient. He ordered his casks to be filled with sea-water; and with a view to immortality, even when on the brink of destruction, he wrote a brief account of his discoveries on two skins of parchment, which he wrapped in oil-cloths covered with wax; and having inclosed them in two different casks, committed them to the sea.

The storm continued till the 15th of February, when one of the sailors discovered land from the round-top, which proved to be St. Mary, one of the Azores, where, after four days spent in incessant labour, they came to an anchor. The inhabitants of this island humanely sent fresh provisions on board, and many compliments from their governor, who expressed his astonishment at the success of the expedition, and seemed to rejoice at the discoveries that had been made. Nor were the natives less surprised, that the ship had been able to weather a storm of 15 days continuance: these gave the admiral and his crew intimation of an hermitage, in the vicinity, dedicated to the blessed virgin, and at this they resolved to perform their vows.

No sooner, however, had the boat and one half of the company come on shore to fulfil this penance, and had begun their naked procession, than they were made prisoners by the governor, who had planted men in ambush on purpose. Columbus having waited in vain for the return of the boat, from day-break till noon, began to suspect some treachery; and sailing round a point, to gain a view of the hermitage, perceived a number of Portuguese enter the boat, with a view, as he apprehended, of attacking the caraval. The prudence of Columbus was on its guard. He hoped to be able to secure the Portuguese commander as an hostage, by inviting him on board; but finding he kept aloof, the admiral demanded the reason of such an outrage on the Spanish nation, and threatened the consequences. The Portuguese captain declared that what had been done was by the express order of the king; on which Columbus supposed a rupture had taken place between the two crowns, and swore he would never quit his ship, till he had taken one hundred prisoners, and destroyed the whole island.

He now returned to the port he had left; but next day the wind increasing, he lost his anchors, and was forced out to sea, with no more than three able sailors on board. The weather afterwards becoming mild, he endeavoured to recover the island of St. Mary, which he reached on the 21st. Soon after a boat was dispatched to him in the governor's name with

five men and a notary, to enquire whence the ship came, and if she actually carried the king of Spain's commission. Being satisfied in these particulars, they returned, and ordered the prisoners to be released. It seems the object and the orders of the Portuguese were to secure the admiral's person; but this scheme was rendered abortive by his prudent caution.

Columbus again set sail with a favourable wind; but soon another tempest overtook him; and he narrowly escaped shipwreck on the rock of Lisbon. Providence, however, still favoured him, and with great exertions, he at length anchored in the river Tagus. On this he dispatched an express by land to their catholic majesties with the news of his arrival, and another to the king of Portugal, requesting his permission to anchor before the city.

On the 5th of March, an armed boat came alongside of the admiral, and required him to give an account of himself to the king's officers, as was customary on entering that river. The spirit of Columbus would not suffer him to submit to this indignity. As the king of Spain's admiral, he gave them to understand, that he could not reply. The Portuguese finding him resolute, demanded a sight of the Spanish monarch's letter: this was readily produced; on which a suitable report being made, the commander immediately came on board with military music, and many expressions of friendly congratulation. No sooner was the nature of the voyage blazoned in Lisbon, than the whole river was covered with boats. The Indians and the particulars of the discovery were irresistible novelties and attractions. The king himself sent presents of necessaries and refreshments, accompanied with felicitations; and desired to see Columbus before he left his dominions.—The admiral at first hesitated; but reflecting that the two nations were at peace, he at last acceded to the sovereign's request, and waited on his majesty at the palace of Valparaiso, about nine leagues from Lisbon. The king ordered all the nobility of his court to advance and meet him; and when the admiral was introduced into his presence, he insisted on his being covered, and sitting down. Having heard the recital of his adventures with apparent pleasure, he offered to supply

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him with whatever he stood in need of; though he could not help observing, that the right of conquest belonged to him, as Columbus had first been in the service of Portugal. The admiral modestly assigned his reasons for being of a different opinion. 'It is very well,' replied the king, 'justice will doubtless be done.'

Considerable offers were made to re-engage the admiral; and every honour and distinction was paid him. The king even sent to inform him, after the interview, that should he be disposed to travel to Castile by land, every accommodation on the road should be provided him. Columbus, with suitable acknowledgements, declined this flattering offer; and setting sail from Lisbon, came to an anchor in the port of Palos, on the 15th of March, after an absence of more than seven months.

The people attended his landing in procession; and thanks to the Almighty, for his protection, were mixed with admiration of the hero who had successfully encountered so many dangers, and laid open new regions, of which, however, the importance could not even be conjectured. By this time, Pinzon was arrived in Galicia, and was eager to carry the first news of the discoveries to the court; but being forbid to proceed without the admiral under whose conduct he sailed, the repulse made such an impression on his mind, that he fell sick, and returning to his native place, in a few days breathed his last.

Meanwhile Columbus set out for Barcelona, where the court then resided; and his whole journey might be compared to a triumph. All ranks flocked round him, eager to see this intrepid adventurer, and the Indians in his train. He reached Barcelona about the middle of April, and new distinctions awaited him. The streets could scarcely contain the crowds that pressed on him; and to heighten public curiosity, the productions of the new-discovered regions were carried uncovered. To do him more signal honour, their majesties ordered their royal throne to be placed in public, on which they seated themselves under a canopy of cloth of gold. When the admiral approached to kiss hands, they stood up, and caused him to be seated in their presence, and treated him as a gran-

dee of the first class. Columbus then recited the principal particulars of his voyage, the discoveries he had made, and the hopes he entertained of finding still more important accessions to the dominions of Spain. He showed the Indians as they appeared in their native climes; and displayed the riches of the new world. Having finished his narrative, their majesties kneeling down, thanked God, with tears of gratitude, which act of devotion was immediately followed by a grand Te Deum.

Never was a man treated with more honour and distinction than Columbus was at this period. In the king's excursions round Barcelona, he kept him always by his side; an honour which had never been conferred but on princes of the blood; and which, perhaps, was more invidious than desirable.

But the regard of their majesties for the admiral was not confined to unsubstantial forms: he was gratified with new patents, confirming and enlarging his former privileges; and extending his viceroyalty and command over all the countries he had discovered, or might discover in future. The more the success of this expedition was canvassed, the more important it appeared; and it was immediately resolved, that Columbus should return with a powerful armament, to prosecute his discoveries. Not satisfied with this, the king dispatched an ambassador to pope Alexander VI. to obtain his apostolic sanction to the new dominions, and an exclusive title to future discoveries in the same quarter. The holy father made no difficulty in complying with this request; and as if he had been lord of the world, drew a line from pole to pole at the distance of 100 leagues to the westward of the Azores, and bestowed this extensive track of the globe on their catholic majesties. Such was the original title of Spain to America, superadded to the right of discovery. In vain shall we trace the foundation of either, to validity, from religion to justice; but ambition, entrenched behind power, is satisfied with the semblance of truth.

At this moment it is a question undecided, if Europe lost or gained more by the discovery of America, or rather by colonizing it. Columbus, however, will ever enjoy the pre-

eminence that is due to superior penetration and perseverance; nor can we contemplate his humane and enlightened conduct in general, without paying him the tribute of our praise.

THE
SECOND VOYAGE

OF
C O L U M B U S .

THE fame and merits of Columbus already made the malignant passions of jealousy and envy rankle in the hearts of those who had opposed his original plans, or wished to detract from his success. But all those emotions were for the present stifled; and the necessary measures being concerted for the prosecution of his future undertakings, with an activity proportioned to the objects in view, in a short space, a fleet of 17 vessels was equipped, stored with provisions, implements for improvements, and commodities for traffic. Many artizans and labourers were engaged; and so great was the thirst of gold, that numbers were desirous of entering into this service, beyond what could be accepted. The admiral restricted himself to 1,500 persons of all descriptions; and having taken on board some of the most useful European animals, set sail from the road of Cadiz, on the 25th of September, 1493, and immediately stood for the Canary islands, where he intended to take in refreshments. He arrived at the Grand Canary on the 2d of October; and on the 7th continued his voyage for the West Indies, as they were now called in contradistinction to the East.

A prosperous gale attended them for 400 leagues to the westward of Gomera; nor did they fall in with any of the weeds, which had been so plentiful in the former voyage. On the 26th, at night, the mariners perceived those lights which they call the body of St. Elmo, to which they sang litanies and prayers, in full confidence that no danger would now ensue from any storm, however violent.

On the 2d of November, a great alteration in the winds and sky took place; and it poured down torrents of rain. From this the admiral concluded they were near land; nor was he wrong in his conjecture; for, at day-break, they descried a high mountainous island, about seven leagues to the westward, which he named Dominica, because it was discovered on Sunday morning. Three others islands were discovered in the vicinity; when the people, assembling on the poop, sang *Salve regina*, and returned thanks to God for their prosperous voyage. The east side of Dominica affording no convenient anchorage, they stood over to another island, which Columbus named Mariglante, from his own ship; and landing, took possession with the usual solemnities.

He soon sailed to another island, which he denominated St. Mary of Guadaloupe, in conformity to a promise made to the friars of a convent bearing that name. At the distance of two leagues from this shore, they espied a very high rock, terminating in a point, from which gushed a natural cascade with prodigious noise. Having landed some men, they advanced to a kind of town, which was abandoned by all the inhabitants, except some children, to whose arms they tied a few presents, in token of amity. Here they saw geese, a variety of parrots, and several fruits, particularly pine apples of exquisite taste and flavour. They refrained from meddling with any of the domestic utensils or manufactures, that the natives might conceive the better opinion of the morality of their visitors.

Next day, the admiral sent two boats ashore, to open, if possible, some communication with the natives; and the crews soon returned with two young men, who, it appeared, had been in a state of captivity. The boats, returning again for

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some of the people who had been left behind, found six women in their company, who had fled to their protection. These the admiral presented with beads and bells, and dismissed, contrary to their inclinations; for they were no sooner landed, than the Caribbees robbed them in the sight of their benefactors. Next opportunity they had, these poor creatures leapt into the boat, and implored the protection of the Spaniards, giving them to understand, that the islanders had eaten their husbands, and retained them in slavery. They were therefore brought on board, when they gave the admiral to understand, that towards the south were many islands and a large continent; and they pointed out the situation of Hispaniola. For this island Columbus would instantly have proceeded, had not one of his captains and eight men been on shore without leave. To recover them, he sent a party ashore with muskets and trumpets, to give the signal of recal. This expedient proving unsuccessful, he ordered 40 men, under captain Hoidea, to range the country, and to make observations on its produce. They reported that they found mastic, aloes, sanders, ginger, frankincense, and abundance of cotton; that birds of various species were in abundance, and that they crossed several rivers, some of which were deep and spacious.

While absent on this excursion, the stragglers returned of their own accord, and said they had been bewildered in the woods; but to punish their presumption, the captain was ordered into irons, and the men were abridged of their usual allowance. Having made this example of necessary severity, Columbus himself landed; and entering some of the houses, found plenty of cotton, raw and spun, and numbers of human skulls, and bones suspended in baskets. The natives seemed to live and lodge more comfortably than any of those he had visited in his first voyage.

On the 10th of November, he sailed in quest of Hispaniola, and passed an island which he called Mountserratt, from its extraordinary elevation; the inhabitants of which, he learned, had been totally devoured by the Caribbees. In his progress, he passed islands, to which he gave the respective names of St. Mary Rodonda, Antigua, and St. Martin, near the last

of which he came to anchor; and, on weighing, found pieces of coral adhering to the flukes. On account of bad weather, he again anchored at another island, where they secured four women and three children, and soon after fell in with a canoe, in which were four men and a woman. These seeing an escape was impracticable, put themselves in a posture of defence; and the female discharged an arrow with such force, that it actually pierced a strong target. The canoe being accidentally overset, they betook themselves to swimming, and one of them used his bow with as much dexterity as if he had been on land. All the males were eunuchs, and had been castrated by the Caribbees to increase their fatness.

Departing from thence, Columbus continued his course; leaving to the northward 50 islands, to the largest of which he gave the name of St. Ursula, and to the rest that of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. He then anchored in a bay, on the west side of what he called St. John Baptist, where the mariners caught plenty of fish. In the vicinity of the bay, they visited some well-built houses with a square in front, and flanked on the sides with cane-towers, having their houses interwoven with greens.

On the 14th he arrived in the bay of Samana in Hispaniola, where he sent on shore one of his Indian natives, now a convert to Christianity, who undertook for the submission of his countrymen. From thence he proceeded for the town of Nativity; and, coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Christo, some of his men discovered two bodies of men, with a rope about their necks, suspended on a kind of cross. This did not augur well; but whether the sufferers were Christians or natives, they could not tell.

Next day a number of Indians came on board, with apparent confidence and cordiality; and, pronouncing several Spanish words, the apprehensions of the admiral began to be allayed. On the morrow, however, his doubts were at an end; for, on anchoring near the town of Nativity, some Indians came along side, and enquired for him by name, presenting a compliment from the cazique Guacanagari. From them he had the sorrow to learn, that the greater part of his

colony was dead, and the rest gone into distant countries.— Columbus concealed his suspicions, and dismissed the messenger with presents for the prince.

Ruin and desolation met his view, on entering the port of the Nativity; the town was burnt to the ground, and not a soul was to be seen. The bodies of 11 Spaniards were discovered, who seemed to have been dead a month. Ruminating with regret and resentment on this disastrous event, he received a visit from the brother of the cazique, who informed him, that he had scarcely sailed, before the colony began to quarrel; each person endeavouring to amass as much gold, and to monopolize as many women as suited his appetite or his avarice; that having committed a murder on one of their associates, ten of them had retired into the dominions of Caunabo, who was lord of the mines, by whom they were put to death, and who afterwards destroyed the town with all the inhabitants. He farther represented, that Guacanagari having espoused the cause of the Spaniards, was wounded in the conflict; and in consequence was now under confinement. This story exactly tallied with intelligence received from some Spaniards, who had been sent up the country to reconnoitre. The admiral therefore paid the cazique a visit next day, and was received with every token of affection and concern. The prince repeated the melancholy tale with marks of unfeigned regret; and displayed his own wounds and those of his men, which had been received in defence of the settlement. Compliments of condolence being passed, the cazique presented the admiral with eight strings of white, red, and green stones, a string of gold beads, a regal crown of the same metal, and three calabashes full of gold dust, weighing about two pounds. In return for such valuable articles, Columbus gave him toys to the amount of three reals, which he highly prized; and though extremely ill, insisted on attending his guest to the fleet, where he first saw some horses with surprize. He was afterwards instructed in the mysteries of the Christian religion, which, with some hesitation, he embraced.

The admiral being disgusted at the sight of a place which had been the scene of so many disasters, sailed to the east-

ward with his whole fleet; and passing the small though pleasant isles of Monte Christo, anchored before an Indian town, where he designed to plant a colony.

Having landed those that were intended for settlers in a commodious plain, he built a tower to which he gave the appellation of *Isabella*. The spot lay under a rock, on which a fort might be easily erected; the harbour was large, and in the vicinity ran a stream of excellent water, from which the town might be conveniently supplied. At no great distance, the mines of Cebao were said to lie. To ascertain this, the admiral dispatched a captain and 15 men; and on the 2d of February, 1494, he sent off 12 of his ships to Castile under the command of Antonio de Torres.

The party sent to explore the country, informed the admiral, that on the second day, they came to the pass of an almost inaccessible mountain; and at the distance of every league found a *cazique*, by whom they were hospitably received. On the sixth day, they reached the mines of Cebao, where they actually saw the Indians collecting gold from a small river, as they afterwards did from many others of the same province.

This grateful intelligence assisted to revive the admiral, who had experienced a fit of sickness from fatigue; and on the 12th of March he set out for Cebao, well attended by men on foot and horseback, leaving, however, a strong guard under the command of his brother, Diego Columbus. This precaution he took in consequence of a conspiracy which he had detected and quelled on board, and likewise to secure the settlers from any sudden attack. He took such necessaries with him as he judged proper to build a fort in the province of Cebao; for the protection of those he meant to leave there to gather gold; and to intimidate the natives, he marched his people through their villages in rank and file with arms and accoutrements, trumpets sounding, and colours flying. The inhabitants seemed to have no idea of private property: they endeavoured to make free with whatever pleased their fancy, and shewed surprize at meeting with a repulse. The whole way was agreeably diversified with pleasant mountains, covered with wild vines, and various sorts of fragrant trees.

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On the 14th of March, the admiral proceeded for the river of Canes; and soon reached another to which he gave the appellation of the Gold river, because here he discovered some grains of that precious metal. Having with some difficulty passed this large volume of water, he found a considerable town with the doors barricadoed against him with canes. He entered the province of Cebao on the 16th, which though not very fertile, yields plenty of grass, and is watered by rivers abounding in gold.

His first attention was directed to the building of a fort in the centre of the mines, and in a situation naturally strong. This fortification he called the castle of St. Thomas. It was garrisoned by 56 men, under the conduct of Peter Margarite.

The admiral having communicated his instructions and advice to the garrison, set out on his return for Isabella, where he found cucumbers and melons, raised from European seeds, fit for the table; and ears of wheat which had been sown only two months, ripe and luxuriant. Vetches produced a crop in 25 days, and sugar canes budded in the same space. Columbus saw and admired the fertility of the soil; nor were the climate and the water less agreeable to his wishes.

A messenger arrived on the 1st of April, with intelligence, that the cazique Caunabo, was preparing to attack the fort of St. Thomas. To this Columbus gave little credit, as he did not suppose the natives had either resolution or force to make any impression on it; but wishing to leave every thing in quiet, before he proceeded on farther discoveries, he dispatched a reinforcement of 70 men. Meanwhile he completed his town, which was regularly disposed, and supplied with water by an artificial canal. He likewise resolved to send all the superfluous hands back to Spain, European provisions beginning to fail, and the health of several, in consequence, appearing to decline. The more robust, he ordered to traverse the island, that they might make discoveries, and become habituated to the Indian diet.

Accordingly 400 Spaniards departed from Isabella on the 29th of April, and having crossed the river del Oro, appre-

hended a cazique, whom, with his brother, they sent to the admiral in irons, for breach of trust. Another cazique, relying on the services he had done the Spaniards, accompanied the prisoners to Isabella, in order to intercede for their liberation. The admiral received him courteously, and, to enhance the value of the favour he intended to grant, commanded the delinquents to be brought out for execution. The mediator, with a flood of tears, begged for their lives, which were granted to his friendship and solicitations. Immediately after their release, a person on horseback arrived from St. Thomas's, who told him he had rescued four Spaniards, who had been taken by the cazique's subjects by way of reprisal, and that 400 persons fled at the very sight of his horse.

Columbus having made preparations for a new expedition, left a council, of which his brother was president, to govern in his absence. He then sailed to Cuba; and on the 3d of May discovered Jamaica, where he was informed there was plenty of gold. This island appeared beautiful in the extreme. A number of natives came on board to barter provisions for toys. Coasting along the shore, he sent out his boats to sound, when they were unexpectedly surrounded by armed canoes. The Spaniards, however, not being intimidated, saluted the assailants with a flight of arrows, by which several were wounded, and the rest fled with precipitation. The admiral having repaired his ship, stood over, again, for Cuba, determined to discover whether it was an island or a continent.—The same time a young Jamaica Indian requested to accompany Columbus to Spain; and, in spite of the remonstrances of his countrymen and friends, persisted in his resolution. It is needless to say he met with a kind reception.

Having reached the point of Cuba, which he denominated Cabo de Santa Cruz, he was overtaken by a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning. He found the whole sea in this quarter interspersed with little sandy islands, which render the navigation very dangerous. Close to the shore, some of them, however, were very pleasant; and therefore he styled them the Queen's Garden. On these, they saw scarlet-coloured cranes, abundance of turtles, and an infinite quantity of siag-

ing birds. The very air was impregnated with fragrance, and the senses were recreated with delight.

In one of the channels separating these islands, they observed some fishermen in a canoe, exercising their vocation after a new and curious form. A string being tied round the tail of some small fishes, called *reves*, which had been taught to encounter their fellows of the deep, by clinging fast to them, both are drawn up together. The Spaniards saw them catch a tortoise by this means; the *reve* being wound round its neck. It is said that these decoy fishes will sometimes attack sharks of the largest size. The Indians made a present to the admiral of the fish they had caught; for which he gave them a suitable return. He now began to be in great want of provisions; and his health was much impaired by fatigue, and want of rest, which he could not venture to enjoy amid such a dangerous navigation.

On the 22d of May, Columbus landed on one of these larger, surrounding islands, to which he gave the name of St. Mary. Here he entered a town, abandoned by the inhabitants; where he found nothing but fish and dogs. Continuing his voyage to the north-east, he became still more embarrassed by the vast number of flats and islands which opened in unvaried succession to his view. With all his precautions the ship was frequently aground; and seeing no probable termination of the dangers he incessantly encountered, he was induced to relinquish his design of making the circuit of the island, till he should return to Spain.

The admiral now touched again at Cuba. On this occasion one of the mariners having ascended a tree, saw about 30 persons armed with spears and staves called *macanas*; and among them one clad in a white vest, reaching to his knees, and carried by two men drest in a similar manner, with complexions as fair as Spaniards. As these Indians hastily retired, Columbus next day sent several people on shore to ascertain the truth of this report, but without success.

Some canoes coming off with a supply of water and provisions, one of the Indians was detained as an interpreter; on promise, however, of being set at liberty as soon as he had

given the intelligence required. From him the admiral was given to understand, that Cuba was an island; that the king never deigned to address his subjects but by signs; and that the surrounding coast was low, and full of islets.

Next day they fell in with such a number of turtles, that they actually covered the sea; while the sun was darkened by a cloud of sea-crows. They likewise saw such swarms of butterflies, that the face of the day was obscured from morning till night, when a deluge of rain swept them all away.

On the 13th of June, Columbus anchored in an island about 30 leagues in circumference, which he called Evangelista; and having wooded and watered, directed his course southward; but soon found himself embayed. Returning to the coast of Cuba, he stood to the eastward; and on the 30th his ship ran aground, and stuck so fast, that it was with great difficulty and some damage she could be got off. While in this vicinity, they were visited by an old cazique, during the celebration of mass. To this service he seemed to pay great attention; and, at its conclusion, signified his belief in the existence of a supreme Being, the rewarder of virtue, and the punisher of vice in a future state.

The admiral put again to sea on the 16th of July. The winds and rains considerably incommoded him at first; but as he approached cape Cruz, he was overtaken by such a sudden storm, that before the sails could be furled, the ships were well nigh overset. Nor was this storm the only evil: they had also to contend with famine. Providentially, however, they reached cape Cruz, where the Indians supplied them with cassada bread, and abundance of fish, and store of fruits.— Thus refreshed, they stood for Jamaica, and coasting it to the westward, found it furnished with excellent harbours, and replete with inhabitants.

On the 20th of August, Columbus made the south side of Hispaniola, near cape Teberoon, which he then called cape St. Michael. Soon after, a cazique came on board, who accosted him by name, and pronounced some Spanish words. Towards the end of the month, having lost sight of the other two ships under his command, he anchored near the island of

Alto Velo. Here the crew killed eight seals, and caught abundance of pigeons and other birds, which being unaccustomed to the cruelty of man, had not learned the necessity of flying from his approach.

At the end of six days, the missing ship joined. The admiral then coasted along Hispaniola, where they had a view of a spacious plain, so populous, that for a league it seemed to be one continued city; and near it lay a large lake. Here the natives came on board; and informed them that the colony at Isabella was well. This pleasant information being received, he dispatched nine men across the island, to inform the planters of his arrival on the coast. Proceeding eastward, he sent his boats ashore for water, near a populous town, whence the inhabitants sallied with bows and poisoned arrows, to oppose a landing. They even produced some ropes, with which they menaced to bind the intruders; but seeing the Spaniards advance without dismay, they threw away their arms, and made a tender to the admiral of all they possessed.

Observing an uncommon fish of great magnitude sporting in the waves, and judging from other indications, that a storm was approaching, the admiral wished to find a place of security to anchor in; and had the good fortune to discover an island, near the east part of Hispaniola, called by the natives *Adamanaï*. Here being sheltered, he observed an eclipse of the moon, which was followed by a tempest for some days successively. Having weathered the storm, and reached the eastern point of Hispaniola, he passed over to a little island, named *Mona* by the Indians; and in his passage from thence to St. John de Borriquen, he was seized with a pestilential and lethargic fever, which soon deprived him of his memory and reason. In this dilemma, his people resolved to proceed to Isabella, where they arrived in five days; and the admiral recovered his senses, on the fever leaving him; but was long in a feeble convalescent state.

At Isabella he had the felicity of finding his brother Bartholomew, who on leaving the court of England, where, we have previously mentioned, he had been in treaty, received intelligence from Charles, king of France, of his brother's

success; and, by this monarch, he was supplied with 100 crowns to prosecute his journey to Spain. Unfortunately, the admiral had sailed on his second expedition before his arrival at Seville; but their catholic majesties soon enabled him to pursue the same track with a fleet of three ships. Bartholomew was constituted, by the admiral, Governor of the Indies. This title occasioned some dispute, and exposed Columbus to the obloquy of his adversaries. The difference was, however, compromised; and he was allowed to bear the appellation of Lieutenant of the Indies. Thus, though the power was the same, the word that expressed it was changed. Man has always been the dupe of terms.

The society and assistance of Bartholomew was a real consolation to the admiral, who by the misconduct of Peter Martyr, found himself involved in quarrels with the natives. The insolent officer, instead of obeying the orders of Columbus, encamped with the party with which he had been entrusted to traverse the country, about 10 leagues from Isabella, whence he dispatched menacing letters to the council. Finding it impossible to usurp the supreme direction as he wished, and dreading the return of the admiral, he embarked in the first ship bound for Spain, leaving his men without a leader. These following their own inclinations dispersed about the country, robbed the natives, carried off the women, and committed such atrocities as alienated the affections of the Indians, and induced them to think of revenge.

Indeed, had the caziques and their dependent lords been firmly united, they might easily have emancipated themselves from the Spanish yoke. But jealousy will always prevent unanimity among rival powers, even where their interest is the same. Guacanagari continued firm in his professions, and had even incurred the resentment of his brother sovereigns, for the faithful part he had acted. A neighbouring cazique had killed one of his women; Caunabo, the lord of the mines, had stolen a second: to revenge the death of the one, and to recover the other, he earnestly implored assistance. The admiral, out of gratitude, undertook to redress his wrongs. Besides he had an interest in fomenting dissensions between the Indian

chiefs. Policy and morality have ever been at variance, and Columbus studied the latter !

On the 24th of March, 1495, the admiral, in company with Guacanagari, set out from Isabella, to prosecute the war against his Indian foes, who had assembled an army of 100,000 men ; while the Europeans did not exceed 200, with 20 horses, and as many dogs.

Never were such disproportionate armies opposed to each other. On the second day, Columbus being in sight of the enemy, divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one to his brother Bartholomew, that, by a double attack, the attention of the Indians might be distracted, and their confusion increased. The first discharge of the Spanish cross bows and muskets threw them into some disorder ; but when the Europeans advanced with horses and dogs, the timid and undisciplined multitude fled in consternation and dismay. Numbers were slain and taken prisoners ; among the latter was Caunabo, with all his wives and children. This cazique confessed that he had killed 20 of the Spaniards who were first left at Nativity, and that his intention was to attack Isabella. Such a confession confirmed by actual rebellion, if it deserves the name, was judged so criminal, that the admiral determined to send him and all his family to the tribunals of Spain.

This signal victory and the captivity of Caunabo so intimidated the Indians, that in the space of a few months, the admiral reduced the whole island ; and imposed a quarterly tribute on the natives. Peace became so well confirmed, that a single Spaniard could travel over the whole island without molestation, and even experience hospitality and regard. The colony, however, by change of climate and of food, was nearly reduced to one-third of the number originally landed at Isabella.

During this interval of repose, the Spaniards made themselves acquainted with the manners and customs of the natives, and the productions of islands they had not hitherto visited. With regard to religion, every cazique had a detached house set apart for the lodging and service of certain wooden images, denominated Cemís, before which they prayed, and used pe-

culiar rites. Caunabo being interrogated respecting his condition after death, replied, that in a future state he should be removed to a certain vale, where he should associate with his parents and predecessors, and enjoy every sensual pleasure, with the highest relish unrestrained.

Hispaniola being now in a state of submission, and the colony established and protected, the admiral resolved to revisit Spain, to give an account of his proceedings, and to refute the charges of some malicious accusers. He therefore embarked on the 10th of March, 1496, on board two ships, with 225 Spaniards and 30 Indians, and immediately steered for the eastward.

The winds proving unfavourable and provisions falling short, he was obliged to stand to the southward, and on the 9th of April anchored at Margalante. Next day he sailed to Guadalupe, and sending his boats ashore, the crews were opposed by a number of armed women, who rushed out of a wood.—The mariners resting on their oars, ordered two of their Indian females to swim to land, and inform the islanders, that provisions were their only objects, for which they would make a liberal return.

These Amazons having understood the demand, pointed to the northward, where their husbands would supply them. Accordingly, on the ships coasting round, a number of people came down to the beach, and let fly a shower of arrows at the boats. It was at last found necessary to discharge a broadside from the ships against these determined islanders. On this they instantly fled, abandoned their houses, and left them to the mercy of the Spaniards. Their effects, being now considered as lawful plunder, were seized without remorse, and their houses destroyed. A sufficient quantity of bread was found to supply the wants of the ships; and in some of the dwellings, which were all square, they discovered honey, wax, and some implements of iron. A man's arm, roasting on a spit, appeared to have been the intended meal of one family.

The admiral now dispatched 40 men to obtain intelligence of the country, who returned next day with 10 women and 3 boys, among whom was the spouse of a cazique. This lady,

notwithstanding her fleetness, was secured by a Canary man, whom she hoped and attempted to make her prey. These women were enormously corpulent and clumsy; they had long hair flowing down to the shoulders, and were swathed with cotton from the ankle to the knee. This was the only dress they wore. The captive princess said the island was inhabited by women only; and that among those who opposed the landing were only 4 men. At a certain season of the year, it appeared, that the males visited them for a short space, and then retired. This was likewise the case in another island, possessed by the same sort of Amazons, who seemed to be endowed with a masculine understanding, and strength not common among the males of this climate.

The ships being furnished with a supply of necessaries, set sail for Guadaloupe on the 20th of April, after the admiral had dismissed the captive females, except the princess and her daughter, who preferred accompanying Caunabo to Spain.— This man it appeared was one of their countrymen, though he had risen to be a cazique of Hispaniola.

When the ships were about 100 leagues west from the Azores, provisions began to run short, and the crews were obliged to be put to a short allowance. On the 8th of June, several days after all the reckonings of the pilots had been out, but exactly as the admiral calculated, they made the land of Odenicra, between Lisbon and cape St. Vincent. By this time the famine was so severe, that some proposed to eat the Indians, while others recommended their being thrown overboard to lessen the consumption. The admiral rejected both these proposals with disdain, and exerted his utmost address to protect the wretched captives. Next morning his humanity received its recompence in a sight of land, which so well accorded with his prediction, that his men began to think him inspired.

The admiral being landed, set out for Burgos, where their catholic majesties were then celebrating the nuptials of their son prince John with Margaret of Austria. He met with a favourable reception; laid before the king and queen specimens of the various productions he had accumulated in his voyage;

and presented them with a considerable quantity of gold dust, pieces of that metal, and articles of manufacture, enriched with its plates.

His next business was to vindicate his conduct from some aspersions, with which envy had tarnished his character. In this he apparently succeeded to his wishes; but when he requested to be sent back with supplies to the colony, which he justly represented as being in want of men and necessities, so dilatory was the court, that many months elapsed before he could obtain the object of his wishes. At last an incompetent relief was sent off in two ships, under the command of Peter Fernandez Coronell. The admiral was once more reduced to the necessity of unheeded solicitation. The Spanish ministry thwarted his designs; their majesties perhaps were jealous of his superior character; and the bishop of Burgos, a man of considerable influence, exerted all the arts of low cunning to bring him into disgrace. This person was the inveterate enemy of Columbus; and in the sequel it will appear, was the chief author of his calamities.

THE
THIRD VOYAGE
OF
C O L U M B U S.

THAT patient fortitude and perseverance, which were characteristic of Columbus, enabled him at last to carry his point. He forwarded and superintended this new expedition with all possible diligence; and at last, on the 30th of May, 1498, set sail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda with

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six ships filled with necessities for the settlers; resolving to prosecute his discoveries with fresh alacrity.

On the 9th of June, he took in refreshments at Madeira; and on the 19th reached Gomera. Here a French ship having captured three Spanish vessels, put to sea with them, on the appearance of the squadron. The admiral being informed of this capture, ordered his ships to chase, but the French escaped by dint of sailing.

Columbus now proceeded to Ferro, from which he dispatched three of his ships to Hispaniola, under approved officers, while he with the rest should sail towards the cape Verd islands, and from thence direct his views to the discovery of the continent.

On the 25th of June, the admiral came to an anchor in Bona Vista, where he found a few houses for the accommodation of lepers, who are landed here for a cure. The Portuguese who had the charge of the island supplied Columbus with such articles as they could spare; and upon his enquiring how the leprosy was healed, was informed, that the patients trust chiefly to the temperature of the air, and the flesh of tortoises, with the blood of which they were externally anointed. Turtles and goats were extremely numerous in this island, of the latter of which many are salted and sent to Portugal.

At St. Jago, the admiral wished to take on board some cows and bulls for his plantation in Hispaniola; but finding some difficulty and delay in obtaining this object, he sailed without accomplishing it; resolving to steer south-west till he should reach the line, and then to alter his course to west. He proceeded accordingly: but provisions and water falling short, he determined to change his direction and make for Hispaniola. He therefore stood to the northward, when one day, about noon, a sailor from the round-top saw land to the westward, about 15 leagues distant, stretching towards the north-east as far as the eye could reach. The mariners sung the *Salve Regina*; and the admiral gave the new discovered land the name of Trinity, from the circumstances of three mountains presenting themselves to his view at once.

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Continuing his course due west, he discovered the continent at the distance of 25 leagues, on the 1st of August; but mistaking it for another island, gave it the appellation of Isla Santa.

Columbus, for better security, proceeded to a more westerly point of land, denominated Del Arenal. In his way he was followed by a canoe with 25 men, who stopped within musket shot, and shouted aloud. He endeavoured to allure them to the ship, by displaying some brass ornaments and looking glasses; but this expedient, proving, in this instance, ineffectual, he ordered one of his men to ascend the poop, and play on the tabor and pipe, while his companions danced round him. No sooner did the Indians hear the music, and observe the gesticulations of the Spaniards, than they took them for a signal of war, and prepared for a resolute defence. The savages however retired on a discharge of cross bows from the ship; but they went alongside of another caraval, without apprehension; and some civilities passed between them and the captain. Their complexions were pretty fair; they had long hair tied with strings, and wore girdles of cotton cloth.

Having watered his ships at Arenal, from artificial trenches which he found on the shore, he proceeded north-west to another mouth or channel, which he called Boca del Drago, and which is formed by a point of Trinity island meeting another from the continent. In the midst of the Boca del Drago he anchored; and here the currents were so strong, and the roaring of the waves so terrible, that the mariners were filled with consternation and fear. They however escaped without damage; and the admiral again weighing anchor, sailed along the south coast of Paria, as he called it, which he then conjectured was an island; and hoped to find a passage northward to Hispaniola; but in this he was at last undeceived.

The boats being set on shore on the 5th of August, found plenty of fruits and wood; and observed traces of the natives who fled at their approach. A little farther down the coast, a canoe with three men came off, and met with the usual kind

reception and presents from the admiral, after which they were sent ashore, where a number of the Indians were assembled. These being satisfied of the pacific disposition of the Spaniards, commenced a traffic with them. The males covered their heads and waists with cotton cloth; but the females were in a state of perfect nudity. They seemed more civilized and tractable than the Hispaniolans; but, like them, shewed the greatest predilection for brass toys and bells.

Nothing valuable appearing among the productions of this quarter, save a few inconsiderable plates of gold suspended from the necks of some of the natives, Columbus taking six of the Indians on board, and sailing westward, touched at two lofty and well-peopled islands, which seemed more rich than those he had left. The inhabitants wore strings of beads or pearl round their arms, and had heavier plates of gold. The admiral having purchased some of the pearls, which he was informed were found to the westward and northward of Paria, sent off some boats to enquire into the circumstances of this valuable fishery. The natives received the Spaniards with every mark of amity and hospitality, and expressed their desire to live with the Europeans in those sentiments.

Columbus, continuing to sail westward, found the water become more shallow; and having reconnoitred the coast by means of one of his smaller vessels, discovered that what appeared to be islands was one continuous continent. He was therefore obliged to return to the eastward; and, with some difficulty, passed the straits lying between Paria and Trinity island. He now sailed along the coast of Paria; and after passing some islands, entered the harbour of Domingo on the 30th of August, where his brother had built a city of that name.

Columbus, almost blind with incessant watchfulness, and quite exhausted with fatigue, now flattered himself with the hopes of reposing in the bosom of peace and tranquillity. Alas! his expectations were vain: the whole island was in a state of confusion; the greater number of the settlers were dead; a new and dreadful disease, which poisons the springs of life, had attacked about 160; a considerable party had

rebelled under a person whom he had constituted chief justice, and, to complete his chagrin, the three ships dispatched from the Canaries were not arrived. After a tedious voyage, in which a great part of the provisions were spoiled, these vessels, however, at last arrived. The admiral's brother having informed him of the circumstances of the revolt, he was resolved to transmit an account of it to their catholic majesties; and as the rebels complained of being detained on the island, a free passage was offered to such as were desirous of returning to Spain.

After many altercations, it was settled that the admiral should deliver up to Roldan, the ringleader of the revolt, two good ships well provided, to transport him and his adherents to Spain; that he should issue an order for the payment of their salaries and wages to the day of their departure; and that within fifty days from the ratification of this convention, the malecontents should quit the island. Matters being thus compromised, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ships, but from the scarcity of stores and the turbulence of the weather, some time having elapsed before they could be brought round to Xaragua, the port from which the embarkation was to be made, Roldan changed his intentions; a king advantage of the unavoidable delay that had intervened, he renounced the stipulations, and refused to depart. The officer who conducted the ships to their destined port having in vain exhorted the rebels to acquiescence in their original engagements, entered a protest against their proceedings; and returned to the admiral, to whom he reported Roldan's objections. Columbus, well knowing the disaffection of his own people, was eager to heal this new breach; and consenting to a conference with the rebel chief, it was stipulated, that the admiral should send home fifteen of Roldan's followers in the first ship bound for Spain; that those who remained on the island should have lands and houses in lieu of pay; that an act of amnesty should be published; and Roldan himself reinstated in his office of perpetual judge. Having at last adjusted this irksome affair, Columbus sent out a captain with a body of men, who were to traverse the island and reduce the rebel-

lious Indians; while he himself proposed to return to Spain, and to take his brother the lieutenant with him.

In the meanwhile Alonzo de Ojeda arrived with four ships from a cruize, and putting into Yaquino, not only committed unprovoked outrages on the Indians, but began to tamper with the Spaniards. To these he insinuated that queen Isabella was in a declining state of health, and that after her decease, Columbus would find no protection at court; but, on the contrary, would fall a victim to the enmity of Ojeda's kinsman, the intriguing bishop of Burgos.

These proceedings having reached the ears of the admiral, he dispatched Roldan with 21 men against him; who, coming upon him suddenly, rendered escape or resistance impracticable. On this, Ojeda altered his tone, excused his landing on a pretence of wanting provisions, and declared he had no intention to disturb the quiet of the island. He then recounted some discoveries and adventures on the coast of Paria; and concluded with a promise, that he would soon sail round to Domingo, and have a personal interview with the admiral.

Notwithstanding these professions, he sailed to the province of Xaragua, where he seduced a number of persons that had lately been in rebellion; and arrogated to himself and Caravajal a superintending power over the admiral, by the appointment of their catholic majesties. He even instigated some to attempt force to carry their wishes; but being opposed by the sound part of the Spaniards, a tumult ensued, in which some lives were lost; and Roldan being again sent to attack him, forced the intruder to take refuge on board his ships. By a stratagem, the justice got possession of his boat. This obliged him to consent to a treaty, and to leave the coast.

Soon after his departure, another commotion was raised by one of the former partizans of Roldan, who wished to marry the daughter of Canua, queen of Xaragua; but being opposed in this design, he concerted measures for taking off the chief justice. Roldan having obtained intelligence of his intentions concerted his plans so well, that he seized the chief conspirators; and being directed by the admiral to punish them according

to law, one of the ringleaders was hanged, others banished, and some left to the disposal of Columbus.

This example of severe punishment, which was become absolutely necessary for the maintenance of subordination, had such a salutary effect, that tranquillity was restored throughout the whole island, both among the settlers and natives. About this time, gold mines of the most superior richness were discovered; and every person began to labour in them on his own account, paying, however, one-third of his produce to the king. So prosperous was this trade, that one man has been known to collect 40 ounces in a day; and one lump of pure gold was discovered, weighing no less than 196 ducats.

While the zeal and activity of Columbus were displaying themselves, in appeasing the troubles and promoting the prosperity of Hispaniola, for the honour and interest of their catholic majesties, he had little reason to apprehend that a storm was collecting against him at home, and just ready to burst on his head. During the late commotions, a number of complaints had been preferred against him by those whose criminal views he thwarted. He had been represented in the worst colours that ingenuous malice could devise; and the friends of the complainers being reinforced by his private enemies about court, such a clamour was raised in Castile, that the people crowded round their majesties, demanding justice against the proud and imperious foreigner, who had oppressed and drawn from their native country, to death and ruin, so many of the Spanish gentry. That mob which, a few years before, almost idolized him for his discoveries, now inveighed against him on this very account, as being destructive to their countrymen; and the court, who wished, no doubt, to reap the benefit of his labours without the tax that gratitude and original conditions imposed, at last yielded to the importunity. Their catholic majesties gave a commission to one Francis de Bovadilla, a person in low circumstances, to proceed for Hispaniola, under the title of inspector-general. By virtue of his authority, he was to take cognizance of the admiral's conduct; and if he found him guilty, he was to send him to

Spain, and supply his place. This licence blinded his justice and stimulated his ambition; for no sooner was the inspector arrived at St. Domingo, than he took possession of the admiral's palace. He then assembled all those whom he found disaffected to Columbus or his brother; declared himself governor; and, to attach the people to his interest, proclaimed a general remission for twenty years to come. His next step was to require the admiral's presence; and to enforce this, he dispatched the king's letter, which ran in the following tenor. It is worthy of being preserved, as it shews how little reliance is to be put in the gratitude of princes, or in the stability of favour.

To D. Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean.

'WE have ordered the commendary, Francis de Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with some things from us. Therefore we desire you to yield him entire credit and obedience. Given at Madrid.

May 21, 1499.

By command of their high-
nesses.

Mic. Perez de Almazan.

} Signed. { I THE KING.
I THE QUEEN.'

Columbus did not hesitate to obey this summons. He set out immediately for St. Domingo, to wait on Bovadilla, who clapt him and his brother Diego in irons on ship board; and placing a strong guard over him, denied him all access of his friends.

A process was then instituted against the admiral and his brother: their enemies were admitted as evidences; and no depositions were so absurd, incoherent, or malicious as to be rejected on that account. It was determined to convict him, that Bovadilla might retain his station.

Bartholomew, the lieutenant, was not yet returned from Xaragua, and it is probable he might have rescued his brother by force of arms, had not the admiral requested him quietly to submit to the authority of the new governor. The consciousness of innocence would not suffer this great man to attempt a defence by force. No sooner had Bovadilla secured

the persons of his brothers, than he gave positive orders to the captain of the ship, on landing, to deliver them to Fonesca, the implacable enemy of Columbus. The new governor then began to squander the king's treasures among his creatures; to countenance profligacy and oppression; and to overturn all the salutary regulations of his eminent predecessor.

Andrew Martin, the captain of the vessel which carried Columbus, ashamed of seeing such a man in irons, wished to knock them off. The admiral insisted on wearing them during the whole of his passage, observing, that he was resolved to keep them as a memorial of the reward of his services. This resolution he never changed: the fetters were always preserved as the most precious relics, and, at his own request, buried in the same coffin with him.

On the 20th of November, 1500, having arrived at Cadiz, he wrote a letter to their majesties, giving an account of his treatment. He received a very gracious answer, in which concern for his sufferings was joined with censure of Bovadilla's conduct. He was invited to court, with a promise that he should shortly be reinstated in all his honours.

On his arrival at Grenada, the king and queen confirmed by words their obliging intimations in their reply; and assured him he should have ample satisfaction. In the mean time, having ordered an investigation to take place, and the accusations appearing malicious and frivolous, he was most honourably acquitted. A new governor was nominated for Hispaniola to redress the admiral's grievances, and to oblige Bovadilla to make restitution. This power was delegated to Nicolas de Obando, a man of abilities, but insidious and revengeful. At the same time it was resolved, that Columbus should be sent on some voyage of profit and honour, till Obando should settle the affairs of Hispaniola. But the admiral, chagrined at the ingratitude he had experienced, and apprehensive of future disgrace from the machinations of his enemies, declined the enterprize, till he was strongly solicited by their majesties, and assured of their zealous protection.

THE
FOURTH AND LAST VOYAGE
OF
COLUMBUS.

A SQUADRON of four ships, with 140 men on board, being equipped, under the superintendence of Columbus, he set sail from Cadiz on the 9th of May, 1501, for Arzilla, in order to relieve the Portuguese, who were reported to be in great distress; but before he arrived, the Moors had raised the siege. He therefore proceeded immediately for the Grand Canary, where he arrived on the 20th, and took in wood and water for his voyage.

On the evening of the 25th he weighed and stood for the West Indies, with such a propitious gale, that he reached Martinico on the 15th of June; and soon after, standing to the westward, among the Caribbee islands, he steered for Domingo, with a view of changing one of his ships which proved a bad sailor; and hoping afterwards to continue his voyage to the coast of Paria, in quest of the strait which he supposed lay near Vuagua and Nombre de Dios.

But that the new governor, sent out to regulate the affairs of the colony and to recal Bovadilla, might not appear to be taken by surprise, he dispatched before him one of his captains to signify the reason of his pursuing this course. So little inclined was the governor to assist the admiral with another ship, he would not even allow him to enter the port; and disregarding the prediction of Columbus, who foresaw an approaching storm, permitted a fleet of eighteen sail to put to sea for Spain, having on board Bovadilla, and the rest of the admiral's opponents.

This squadron, however, had hardly weathered the eastern extremity of Hispaniola, before they were overtaken by a terrible tempest, in which the commodore, with Bovadilla and almost all the principal rebels foundered, and not more than three or four ships of the whole were saved; while Columbus, aware of the impending danger, sheltered himself under the land in the best position he could. But the wind soon rose to a perfect hurricane, and his three consorts were forced out to sea. The Bermuda, commanded by Bartholomew Columbus, was saved by the admirable skill and dexterity of this accomplished seaman; being a bad sailer, her danger had been most imminent. In a few days, the ships all joined the admiral in the port of Azua. Though a revengeful temper and a superstitious mind might have found consolation in the idea, that this dreadful tempest had been the destruction of his enemies, Columbus felt more chagrin than satisfaction when he reflected, that he was denied shelter in that very country he had discovered and annexed to the crown of Spain, in whose service he still laboured. His enemies, less liberal, less enlightened, ascribed this storm to magic; and to give weight to this belief, the only ship out of eighteen that arrived in Spain was the *Aguja*, on board of which were 4,000 pesos of gold, the property of the admiral.

Unwilling to enter into disputes with the governor, Columbus refreshed his men in the best manner he could in the port of Azua, and thence sailed to a harbour of Brasil, called Gracchimo by the Indians. Leaving this, he was so becalmed, that instead of continuing his course, he was carried by the currents near Jamaica. However, after some delay, standing southward for the continent, he reached the islands of Guanara, near the country now called Honduras, where Bartholomew landed, and found a numerous population, and some pieces of lapis calaminaris, which the seamen mistook for gold. While he remained here, he descried a large canoe, with an awning made of palm tree leaves, under which the women and children were sheltered from the weather; and though the vessel was manned by 25 stout Indians, they suffered themselves to be captured without the least resistance.

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This vessel being replete with goods and domestic utensils, gave him a favourable opportunity of becoming acquainted with the commodities of the country. On examining the cargo, it was found to consist of quilts and cotton shirts of various colours, together with long sheets, in which the women wrapped themselves, long wooden swords, sharpened on each side with flints, hatchets, and copper bells. The provisions consisted of such roots and grain as were usual in Hispaniola, and a kind of fermented liquor made from maize. They had likewise abundance of cocoa-nuts, which being the representative of coin here, were proportionably valued. The people seemed to have a due sense of modesty and decency; which decorum of manners made such a favourable impression on the admiral, that he ordered them to be treated with peculiar respect, restored their canoe, exchanged for European articles such commodities as he wished to retain, and dismissed them well pleased. One old man, however, who cheerfully undertook the office of interpreter, and seemed to be a person of character among his countrymen, was kept during the course of the voyage; and having acquitted himself with fidelity in the department he undertook, was at last discharged with many valuable presents.

Though the admiral soon learned from this intelligent guide that a people of great wealth, politeness, and ingenuity, inhabited a country to the westward; yet, conceiving he could at any time sail thither from Cuba, for the present he resolved to explore the imagined strait in the continent, through which he might penetrate into the South sea, and thus reach the spice country. A misconception of the Indian's meaning had given rise to the supposition that such a strait existed: they intended to describe an isthmus, which Columbus mistook for a narrow gulph, extending from sea to sea.

In quest of this strait, he sailed towards a point on the continent, which he named Casinus, from the quantity of trees growing there, bearing a fruit so called by the Hispaniolans. In the vicinity of this cape, he saw people with painted shirts, like coats of mail, sufficiently strong to defend them against the weapons of that country, or even the stroke of a sword.---

Farther to the eastward, near cape Gracios a Dios, the natives were of a savage aspect, and cannibals. Sailing still to windward, on Sunday, August 14, 1502, Bartholomew Columbus with a large party went ashore to hear mass, and on the following Wednesday, took possession of the country for their catholic majesties. Immediately, above 100 Indians laden with provisions ran down to the shore; but perceiving the boats, suddenly retired in silence. The lieutenant ascribing this to timidity, employed the interpreter to ingratiate himself with them by means of trinkets and bells, which were so acceptable, that next day they returned in greater numbers, bringing with them hens, geese, fish, and other kinds of provisions. The country, though low, was beautifully verdant; producing pines, oaks, palms, and mirabolans. Among the quadrupeds were deer, and a species of leopard. The features of the inhabitants resembled those of the islands already described: they covered their loins; and every nation spoke a language of its own. Their bodies and arms were ornamented with different figures indented by fire. They seemed to have no religion; but on festivals they painted their faces of various colours, so as to make a most terrific appearance.

The winds and currents being contrary, the admiral spent 70 days in sailing 60 leagues to the eastward. On the 14th of September, he reached Gracios a Dios, so called because the land bending off to the south, gave him an opportunity of prosecuting his voyage with the trade wind.

On the 16th, the boats being sent ashore to water, one of them, with all the men, was unfortunately lost by a violent surf or rippling, occasioned by the conflict of the current and the wind. To this river he gave the appellation of *De la Disgracia*, or *Disaster*. Running farther to the southward, he anchored near the town of *Cariari*, in the vicinity of an island named *Quiriviri*, which in population, soil, and situation, was distinguished above every place he had yet visited. The town was watered by a large river, on the banks of which a multitude of people appeared, some armed with bows and arrows, others with palm-tree lances pointed with fish bones, and a third description with clubs. They seemed to have been col-

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lected to defend their country from invasion; but being satisfied of the pacific disposition of the Spaniards, they eagerly wished to barter their commodities, consisting of arms, cotton, sheets, and guaninis, which are ornaments of gold for the neck, for articles of European manufacture; but the admiral, to give the savages a high opinion of their visitors, as if they were superior to all mercenary views, presented them with trinkets, for which he would not suffer any thing to be taken in exchange. This served only to whet their desire for traffic: they invited the Spaniards to land; but finding they could not succeed, they retired, leaving every article they had received in a small heap on the shore. The Indians, conceiving that the strangers distrusted their sincerity, sent down an ancient man of a majestic presence, with a flag on a staff, attended by two young women, having guaninis about their necks. These females, at the earnest request of their guide, were sent on board the admiral; and being handsomely entertained, were dismissed to rejoin the veteran and about fifty of his countrymen on the beach.

Next day the lieutenant going ashore, two of the Indian chiefs taking him by the arm, with a gentle violence, made him sit down on the grass between them. Thus situated, he began to interrogate them, and ordered the secretary to write down their answers. But having themselves performed some magic ceremonies before they approached the Spaniards, they conceived that pen, ink, and paper, were the instruments of sorcery among the strangers, and fled in great consternation when they were produced. Bartholomew found means to quiet their apprehensions, and afterwards visited their town, where he saw several tombs in a large wooden structure covered with canes. They appeared to possess the art of embalming the dead. Over each of the sepulchres was a board, carved with the figures of beasts, or the effigies of the deceased, with the native ornaments.

The appearance of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants excited the admiral's desire to become better acquainted with both. He therefore ordered seven of the Indians to be secured, and selecting two of the most intelligent looking

persons among them, dismissed the rest with presents, assuring them, that their companions were detained for no other reason but to act as guides and interpreters, and that in a short space they should be set at liberty. This detention, however, was ascribed to avarice; and next day, four ambassadors arrived with a present of two wild hogs to ransom their countrymen. The deputies were treated with the greatest civility, well repaid for their hogs, and sent away satisfied that no harm would befall their comrades on board.

One of the sailors having caught a wild cat of extraordinary size, compared with the same animal in Europe, the crew entertained themselves with letting it loose on one of the hogs which had been brought for a present. Though naturally very ferocious, no sooner did it see the cat than it ran about the deck in a fright. The admiral perceiving this, ordered a hog to be brought near the cat in confinement, which immediately winding its tail about the hog's snout, and with its fore leg fastened on the poll, would soon have dispatched it, had not the attendants interposed. From these circumstances it was clear, that those cats hunt like the European wolves.

On the 5th of October, the admiral entered the spacious bay of Carovaro, in which are many islets. On one of these small islands they discovered twenty canoes, and their crews hard by them on the shore, without the least article of dress or ornament, save little plates of gold round their necks. These betrayed no symptoms of fear, but readily exchanged a gold plate weighing ten ducats for three horse-bells; and gave the Spaniards the agreeable intimation, that gold was abundant in that neighbourhood.

Next day, a boat's crew met with ten canoes full of people, who declining to part with their gold plates, the admiral ordered two of them to be taken, for the sake of obtaining information by means of the Cariari interpreters. These confirmed the report of gold being found at the distance of two days' journey up the country.

Sailing from thence, the admiral, some days after, entered the river Guaiga, where his boats were violently assaulted by a party of 100 Indians; who resolutely ran into the water up

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to the middle, brandishing lances, blowing horns, and showing every mark of aversion and defiance. The peaceable demeanour of the Spaniards soon appeased these hostile menaces; and for a few horse-bells, the natives exchanged gold plates to the value of 150 ducats. Next day, however, they lay in ambuscade, and perceiving that no one would venture to land without security, they rushed into the water, and repeated the same insults as on the preceding day. The Spaniards being exasperated at their insolence, wounded one of them with an arrow; and, at the same time, a cannon being fired, they fled in the greatest consternation. Then four men landing, invited them by signs to return; on which they laid down their arms, and entered into peaceable traffic.

Columbus having procured specimens of the produce of this part of the country, proceeded to Catiba; and casting anchor in the mouth of a large river, saw the natives preparing for defence. However, they sent two deputies alongside in a canoe; and these having discoursed with the interpreters, came on board the admiral, and presented him with their plates, for which he made them a satisfactory return. Amity being thus established, the Spaniards went ashore, and found the king surrounded by a number of his subjects, from whom he was in no respect distinguished, but by a single leaf of a tree, which in some degree protected him from the rain. The sovereign having first exchanged his gold plate, his people speedily followed his example. At this place was seen a considerable mass of wall, apparently constructed of stone and lime; the first trace that had been discovered of architectural skill in the new world. Passing to the eastward, the admiral passed Cobravo, and several towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians said the gold was collected, and the plates made. On the 2d of November, he entered a harbour, to which he gave the appellation of Porto Bello, from its beautiful situation. The weather proving unfavourable for proceeding, he continued here for seven days, during which space, a constant communication and commerce was kept up with the natives.

Leaving Porto Bello, the admiral directed his course to the eastward; but next day was forced back; and running in among the islands near the continent, where the town of Nombre de Dios now stands, called the place Puerto de Bastimentos, from the quantity of provisions. A boat, well manned, being sent in pursuit of a canoe, the Indians on board it were so terrified, that they leaped into the sea, and in spite of all the efforts of the Spaniards, escaped by dint of diving and swimming. Here Columbus remained for a fortnight, when he sailed for Guiga, where a body of 300 Indians appeared ready to open a trade with the Spaniards. Without making any delay here, he put into a small confined port, which he named Retrete, capable of containing no more than six ships, with an entrance not more than twenty paces wide. In this place he lay nine days, at first trading very familiarly with the Indians, till the insolence of one of the sailors provoked them to open hostility. Their courage encreasing daily with their numbers, and the admiral having in vain endeavoured to allay the commotion, found it absolutely necessary to alter his deportment, to prevent their aggression. He therefore ordered his men to fire some pieces of cannon, which they answered with noise and vociferation, as if they despised the explosion, which they believed to be the effect of thunder. On this, one of the great guns was loaded with shot, and the ball falling in the midst of a party assembled on a hillock, convinced them that they had something more than noise to apprehend. Ever after they kept out of sight. These people were tall and well shaped. In the harbour, alligators were numerous. These animals slept ashore, and emitted a musky scent. They appeared ravenous when they could take advantage; but cowardly when attacked.

The admiral perceiving that the winds continued to blow with violence from the eastern quarter, and that he was precluded from trading with the inhabitants of this coast, resolved to satisfy himself in regard to the authenticity of the report, concerning the mines of Veragua, and accordingly sailed back to Porto Bello.

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Next day, the wind shifted; and for some time the weather was so boisterous, that a man could scarcely stand on the deck. The clouds seemed to be melting into a deluge; the whole air appeared like a sheet of lightning; and the thunder rolled incessantly over their heads. The mariners, worn out with fatigue, and terrified with the unusual commotion of the elements, were driven to despair. Amidst this danger and distraction, they were in the utmost peril of being overwhelmed by a dreadful water-spout, which rising from the sea, about the thickness of a butt, seemed to reach the clouds, and burst with a tremendous roar. To darken their prospect, they lost sight of one of the ships; and it was not till the end of three days, that they found she was safe.

At this crisis, when hope was almost lost, a calm ensued of two days' continuance, during which they were surrounded by sharks so voracious, that they were caught with any bait. In the belly of one, an entire turtle was found alive. Though these fishes were regarded as ominous, and their flesh but indifferent food, the sailors beginning to be pressed with famine, ate them with great eagerness. Indeed, all their sea stores were consumed, except their biscuit; and this was so full of maggots, from the heat and moisture of the climate, that they generally ate it in the dark, to conceal the disgust of the vermin with which it was filled.

On the 17th of December, Columbus reposed his crews for three days in a harbour east of Pennon, called Huiva by the natives. Here they observed, that the natives lived in huts erected in the tops of trees, to secure them from wild beasts and land floods, or enemies of their own species; for war frequently raged along the coast. On quitting this harbour, a new storm arose, and they were obliged to take shelter in another port. The 3d of next month, the weather became more moderate; but as if providence had resolved to thwart the expedition, no sooner were they again under sail, than the wind freshened and became contrary; and they were buffeted about by the waves, till they were driven back to one of their former ports.

After some repairs, and laying in a fresh stock of such provisions as the country supplied, Columbus once more set out; but he was so perplexed with currents, and fatigued with tempests and contrary winds, that he gave this coast the appropriate name of *De Contrastes*, or the *Coast of Contention*.

At last he reached the river of *Veragua*, whose waters were very shallow; but the boats proceeded up to the town, near which the gold mines were said to lie. At first the Indians stood on their guard, and menaced opposition; but our Indian interpreter giving a favourable representation of the views and conduct of the strangers, they were appeased; and bartered away twenty plates of gold, and some grains of the same metal in their native state, which they said had been collected in desolate mountains, at a very great distance.

Two of the ships, with the admiral on board, went up a river in the vicinity, to which he had given the appellation of *Bethlem*; and here they found the Indians ready to exchange their commodities, particularly fish, which at certain seasons of the year swam up the rivers in incredible shoals. The other ships having joined, *Bartholomew*, the lieutenant, went up the river with the boats to the city of *Quibio*; and the king hearing of his design, in token of friendship, met him in his canoe. Next day he visited the admiral, and after an hour's conversation, and an interchange of presents, he departed extremely gratified.

Soon after, the river swelled by the floods so suddenly and so high, that the admiral's ship parted her cable, and ran foul of another vessel, by which accident both were in imminent danger of being lost. This prodigious rise was supposed to be occasioned by some cloud having burst on the lofty mountains of *Veragua*.

On the 6th of February, 1503, the lieutenant and 68 men ascended the river to the cazique's town, on purpose to enquire the nearest road to the mines. In consequence of the intelligence received, they travelled several leagues, and arriving at the place where they were directed, gathered some gold about the roots of large and lofty trees. As the sole aim

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of the journey was to obtain information respecting the mines, the party returned well pleased with their adventure; though it afterwards appeared, that the mines of Veragua lay much nearer, and that they had been purposely sent to the mines of Urira, a nation at war with Quibio.

A few days having elapsed, the lieutenant with 50 men set out again for the river Urira, seven leagues westward of Bethlem; and next day had an interview with the cazique, when some plates of gold were exchanged. The Spaniards were then conducted to the town, where they were hospitably entertained and lodged. Soon after their arrival at this place, the neighbouring cazique of Dururi waited on them: he had a numerous retinue, and several plates of gold were bartered by his people. The news of gold being found most grateful to the ears of the Spaniards, this cazique pleased the lieutenant, by informing him, that in the interior parts there were caziques who possessed abundance of gold, and maintained armed men like the Spaniards.

Bartholomew sending back a part of his men to the ships, proceeded with the remainder to Zobarba, where he saw about six leagues of ground full of maize, in good cultivation. Here the natives were kindly attentive; and furnished him with some plates of gold; but having advanced a great way from the ships, and found out no place more convenient for a colony, which it was intended to settle, than Bethlem, he returned with a good quantity of gold, and a resolution was now taken to leave a colony here of 80 men under his command. The necessary dispositions being made, they began to erect timber houses, covered with palm leaves, in the vicinity of Bethlem river; and several pieces of cannon, ammunition, and provisions were lodged in the magazine apart; while other stores were placed on board one of the ships, the Gallega, for the use of the colony. As fish abounded on the coast, they had an ample supply of nets and other fishing tackle. The Indian mode of catching fish here was with hooks made of tortoise shell. Pilchards were their usual prey. In the middle of their canoes, from stem to stern, they had a partition of palm leaves

two yards high; and plying about the river, made a noise with their oars so as to alarm the fish, which mistaking the leaves for land, frequently darted against them, and fell into the canoe. Their principal beverage was a kind of beer made of maize. They also made a pleasant wine of palms.

Every thing having been provided for the comfort and security of the new colony, the admiral was determined to return to Spain; when his voyage was effectually retarded by the lowness of the water in the river, which could not float his ships, as well as by a terrible surf, which threatened destruction to any vessel on the shore. This circumstance was the more unfortunate, as the rains were past, which alone could swell the river; and the ships' bottoms were perfectly worm-eaten. To complete the calamity, it was casually discovered, that Quibio intended to destroy the settlement, as having been formed contrary to his inclination, and that of his people. In this dangerous dilemma, the admiral concerted measures with his brother. It was therefore proposed to take the cazique and his principal men prisoners, and to carry them hostages to Spain. Accordingly, the lieutenant and 70 men proceeded to the village of Veragua, where he received a message from the cazique, desiring he would come up to his house, which stood apart on a hill. He had now occasion for all his address. He resolved to accept the invitation with five men only; having ordered the rest to follow two and two at some distance, and, on hearing the report of a musket, immediately to surround the house. Quibio meeting the lieutenant at the door, was immediately seized; and the signal being given, the Spaniards encircled the house. The prince being taken, about 30 attendants made no opposition. But as they were conveying the cazique on board, he found means to leap into the river; and darkness setting in, it was impossible to recover him, or to know the event. After a fruitless search, the party returned overwhelmed with shame and vexation.

Finding it impracticable to recover the fugitive Indian, the lieutenant and his men came on board the admiral, and presented the plunder of Quibio's house, which was pretty consi-

derable. A fifth part was deducted for their catholic majesties, and the rest distributed among the party engaged in the expedition.

The river being again swelled by the rains, Columbus found means, though with much difficulty, to get over the bar into the sea. He then waited for a fair wind to carry him to Hispaniola, from whence he purposed sending supplies to his new settlement. During this interval, the boat providentially went ashore, and was the probable salvation of a number of Spaniards. For Quibio no sooner saw the ships at sea, than he resolved to attack the settlement; and the surrounding woods facilitated the enterprize. But the lieutenant, with undaunted resolution, sallied out on the enemy, and compelled the savages to retire, just as the boat reached the shore. In this encounter, a Spaniard was killed and seven wounded, among whom was the lieutenant himself. The enemy, however, again and again returned to the charge; and the spirit of the Europeans was thus broken, as well as their number reduced.

Meanwhile the admiral waited impatiently for favourable weather to send the only boat ashore which remained, for intelligence previous to his leaving the coast; and in this interval, some of the prisoners escaped in the night, and the rest hanged themselves in despair; so that no hostages for Quibio's peaceful demeanour were left. From the inclemency of the elements, no boat could live; and the anxiety of Columbus increasing, he engaged one of his pilots to swim ashore for intelligence. This hazardous enterprize he happily accomplished, and returned with a melancholy detail of attacks without and animosities within. Bartholomew found it impracticable to maintain his authority; and the settlers were unanimous in nothing but in quitting the place. The admiral seeing no other alternative than to expose the settlers, among whom was his own brother, to certain destruction, or to take them on board, did not hesitate what line of conduct to pursue. He received and accommodated the colonists in the best manner that the circumstances of his ships could permit. All the goods and stores were carried off; and nothing of value left, except the hulk of the ship intended for the use of

the settlement, which was found too rotten to be of further service.

The admiral having yielded to imperious circumstances, which frustrated his reasonable expectations of deriving credit and advantage from erecting a settlement on the continent, sailed along the coast to the eastward, contrary to the judgment of all his pilots, who thought it possible to reach Domingo by bearing to the north. The superior nautical skill of Columbus and his brother taught them otherwise. They were nevertheless exposed to the obloquy of ignorance; and murmurs and apprehensions were spread that he had it in contemplation to sail directly for Spain, without having provisions adequate to the voyage.

Having reached Porto Bello, he was obliged to leave another of his ships, which was totally decayed. He then passed Porto Retrete, together with a number of minute islands; and having weathered the point of Marmora on the continent on the 1st of May, he stood to the north, with both wind and currents setting from the east.

The principal navigators affirmed that he was already to the eastward of the Caribbees; but he himself was fearful he should not yet be able to fetch Hispaniola, and his judgment was verified. After a run of several days, he found himself among the islands called the Queen's Garden, ten leagues to the southward of Cuba. By this time, the ships were so leaky that they could scarcely be managed by the pumps; the strength of the crews was exhausted; and they were at a short allowance of very indifferent fare, had it been unlimited. In this melancholy situation, they were overtaken by a storm. The two ships ran foul of each other, and had nearly foundered: however, providence again favoured the admiral; with difficulty they got clear, and dropped their anchors. What increased their thankfulness was, to find in the morning, that only one strand of the cable was left uncut: had this given way, they must have been dashed on pointed rocks.

The weather having become moderate, Columbus sailed to an Indian town in Cuba, named Mattaia, where he laid in some refreshments. But finding it impossible to bear up for

Hispaniola, he stood over to Jamaica, with the ships almost full of water, in spite of all their exertions. At last he reached the harbour of Santa Gloria, well guarded by rocks; and finding it impossible to keep the ships longer afloat, he run them aground, side by side, and ordered sheds to be made on their decks for the protection of his men. By this expedient he had the crews more under controul than if they had been on land, and better guarded from any attack of the natives. With that wisdom which always marked his conduct, he appointed two persons to superintend the market, that equal justice might be done on both sides; and the Indians, sure of honourable treatment, might be ready to supply him with provisions, or to engage in traffic. These regulations were alike grateful to his own men, who were well supplied, and to the Indians, who frequently exchanged their animals and provisions for a bit of tin, a few glass beads, or a hawk's bell. A chief was sometimes complimented with a red cap, a small looking-glass, or a pair of scissars.

But though they were now freed from the pressure of want and immediate danger, this was not the scene of their rest. The admiral next consulted how to transport the party to Hispaniola, and after mature deliberation, it was resolved that two canoes should be dispatched thither with an account of their misfortunes, and a pressing solicitation to the governor, to send a ship for their relief. James Mendez de Segura, the admiral's secretary, embarked in one canoe with sixteen men, Spaniards and Indians; and the command of the other was given to Bartholomew Friesco, a Genoese gentleman, who had the same number of hands. This last had orders to return immediately with the news of their safe arrival; while Mendez should continue his route over land to St. Domingo.

The men left, soon began to grow sickly from the fatigue they had undergone, and a change of diet; and illness always fosters a spirit of discontent. They now caballed against the admiral, as if he had no wish to return to Spain; they anticipated the refusal of the governor of Hispaniola to grant any assistance from his previous conduct; they even suggested that the canoes were lost, or some tidings would have been

received from the secretary. Hence they concluded that it was their best plan to leave the admiral, who was very ill of the gout, and to follow their companions to Hispaniola, where their desertion would be a passport to the governor's favour. Two brothers of the name of Porras were the suggesters and supporters of these sentiments; and as the bishop of Burgos, the sworn foe of Columbus, kept one of their sisters in the quality of concubine, they did not doubt but they should meet with protection in Spain. These insinuations had their full effect; and about 48 of the men having fallen into their line, preparations were diligently made for the execution of their designs.

Matters being ripe for a discovery, on the 2d of January, 1504, captain Francis de Porras, who had been elected leader, ascending the quarter-deck, where the admiral lay confined in his bed, insolently demanded the reason why he did not return to Spain, but kept his men to perish in such a situation. Columbus, suspecting a conspiracy, calmly replied, that it was impossible to return to Spain without a vessel; that both interest and duty prompted him to be gone; and that for the gratification of his people, he would summon all his officers to consult on the means of forwarding their wishes. This mild remonstrance had no effect on Porras. He said it was now too late to waste words; that if the admiral did not immediately embark, he might stay alone. Then raising his voice, he exclaimed, 'I am going to Spain with those who are inclined to follow me.' By this his adherents joined in the exclamation, and immediately took possession of different parts of the ship, so that uproar and confusion were universal. The noise of the tumult roused the admiral from his bed of sickness: he started up, and was only withheld from rushing into the midst of the conspirators, by the affectionate restraints of his servants, who dreaded he might be murdered. The lieutenant, after bravely rushing out on the mutineers, was disarmed and confined, having in vain cautioned Porras to reflect on his conduct, which would meet with exemplary punishment. The ringleader disregarded this advice, and seizing ten canoes which had been purchased of the Indians by Columbus, em-

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barked with all his adherents, who expressed the same exultation as if they had already been landed in Spain. On this occasion, some who had not joined in the conspiracy, despairing now of relief, desired to be taken on board, to the infinite regret of the admiral and his few remaining followers. Had the whole been in health, it is probable that none but his brother and his domestics would have remained in their duty.

The mutineers coasting along the east side of Jamaica, committed all manner of outrages on the natives, and desired them to apply for redress and indemnity to the admiral, who was the author of all their calamities; and to put him to death, should he deny them satisfaction.

Having carried their malice as far as diabolical invention would go, they began their voyage for Hispaniola, with some Indians, whom they compelled to act as rowers. They had not, however, made four leagues from land, when the wind, which was contrary, began to freshen, and the sea to rise and to fill the canoes. Being unacquainted with the mode of navigating such vessels, they thought to lighten them by murdering the Indians, and throwing their bodies into the ocean. This inhuman design they executed on some; others being thrown overboard alive, swam till they were exhausted, then hanging by the canoes for breath, the detestable monsters cut off their hands; and in this manner eighteen perished. Probably not one would have escaped, had not a few been saved out of a cruel charity to carry them back to Jamaica; as they found it impracticable to proceed. Having relanded on this island, a council was held; when some proposed that they should take advantage of the winds and currents to run over to Cuba, whence the passage to Hispaniola was short; others advised attempting to make their peace with the admiral; but a majority of votes agreed, that after it became calm, they should pursue their former voyage. Having waited a month for a favourable opportunity of leaving the island, and having made two unsuccessful efforts, they at last marched by land to the westward, plundering the natives as they advanced.

The first care of the admiral was to efface the bad impressions which the mutineers had made on the Indians, and in

this he fortunately succeeded; for they supplied him with provisions as before. His next object was to recover his people by the supplies he could procure for their relief. But the Indians attending no further to agriculture than was absolutely necessary for their own subsistence, began to feel a scarcity; and the admiral being in a situation that no longer challenged obedience and respect, they became indifferent about his wants. The sagacity of Columbus, ever prompt at expedients, supplied him with a most extraordinary resource for retrieving his character and credit with the savages. Knowing by calculations that in three days there would be an eclipse of the moon, he sent an Indian of Hispaniola to assemble the chiefs of the district, on an affair of importance to them all. Having obeyed the summons, he told them by his interpreter, that he and his people were Christians, and believed in God who created the heavens and the earth, protected the righteous, and punished the wicked, and therefore would not suffer the rebellious Spaniards to pass over to Hispaniola, though he had by his providence conducted the messengers sent by him, because their design was laudable; that the same almighty and all-just Being was incensed against the Indians for becoming negligent in supplying his people with provisions, and was determined to punish them with plague and famine. As a token of which, they would that very night see the moon rise with an angry and bloody aspect, to denote the misfortunes that were about to ensue.

As fear or belief operated on the mind, this prophecy had different effects. But when they perceived the moon in reality eclipsed, and darkness encreasing as she rose, universal consternation prevailed. They came running from all quarters, laden with provisions; and with loud cries and lamentations supplicated the admiral to intercede with God in their behalf; and that for the future they would be attentive to all his wants. Having obtained this promise, Columbus said he would use his influence with the Supreme; and accordingly shut himself up, while the Indians remained without, howling in the most piteous manner, and imploring his assistance. When he perceived the eclipse about to decrease, he came out, and bade

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them be of good cheer; his prayers for them had been heard, and that God had forgiven them, on condition of their being kind and hospitable to the Christians. In confirmation of this, he assured them, they would speedily see the moon lay aside her wrathful aspect, and shine with her former splendour.

This prognostic being verified, they adored the God of the Christians; and ever after continued to supply him and his men to the utmost of their abilities; for though they must have observed eclipses before, they thought it impossible to predict them, and therefore considered Columbus as an immediate agent of the Deity. On a review of this artifice, we cannot refrain from observing, that it was strongly tinctured with impiety and presumption; but it was surely less culpable than many which the professed servants of the Supreme Being have used for less honourable ends.

Eight months had now elapsed since the departure of the messengers to Hispaniola; and even the firmest resolution began to waver. It was generally supposed they had perished in the sea, or been massacred by the Hispaniolian Indians.—These apprehensions were confirmed by the information of some of the natives of Jamaica, who said they had seen a canoe, upset, driven on the coast by the tide. Every day adding strength to fear, a new conspiracy was formed; at the head of which was one Bernard, an apothecary. The plan was to desert the admiral in imitation of the former mutineers; but happily this was rendered abortive by the arrival of a ship from Hispaniola. The captain, whose name was James de Escobar, having come to an anchor, visited the admiral with compliments from the governor, who being, he said, unprovided with a ship sufficient for the purpose of transporting so many men, had sent him a present of a cask of wine and two fitches of bacon. Having delivered this commission, without waiting for a reply, he weighed anchor, and sailed again the same evening. Though Columbus was stung to the soul by this abrupt departure, he concealed his emotion; and affected to say, that the caraval had sailed by his directions; because being too small to take the whole party, he was determined

they should not be separated. This declaration once more silenced the conspirators. But the truth was, the governor of Hispaniola, being jealous lest Columbus, on his return to Spain, should supercede him, had sent to reconnoitre his situation, with a view of destroying him. By the arrival of this ship, however, Columbus had received undoubted intelligence, that his messengers had been able to discharge their mission; and he indulged the hope, that their remonstrances would procure him at last the wished for relief.

These resolute adventurers, faithful to their charge, had contended with many difficulties in their passage, but at last surmounted them all. For two days they continued rowing and paddling, during which they sustained the extremes of thirst, heat, and fatigue; and some of the Indians actually died for want of refreshment. At the end of the second day, they began to suspect that they had missed the right course, and despondency began to seize them; but observing the moon rise over land, which proved to be a small island about eight leagues from Hispaniola, their hopes revived with the prospect. For this spot they rowed with intense efforts; and next morning going ashore, found it barren and desolate; but it furnished water, of which some drank to such an excess, as to produce dropsies and other dangerous distempers. Having refreshed themselves in the best manner they could, they steered their course for cape St. Michael, the nearest land in Hispaniola, where they safely arrived. Fiesco, having reposed himself two days, would have returned to the admiral as agreed, but neither sailors nor Indians would accompany him. As for Mendez, though he laboured under a quartan ague, he set out immediately for Xaragua, and set forth the admiral's situation to the governor; who, after much importunity, gave him permission to purchase a ship at St. Domingo. This vessel afterwards sailed for Jamaica, from whence Columbus dispatched her, with packets for their catholic majesties.

A desire of reconciliation for the benefit of all parties, prompted the admiral to attempt to bring the Porras back to their duty. To enforce his arguments, he set before them the prospect of a speedy voyage to their own country; inform-

that they had received a promise of being relieved by a caravan from Hispaniola; and in confirmation of the truth of this, he sent them a part of his presents. The ring-leaders dreading a re-union, employed all their eloquence to dissuade their adherents from accepting their proposals; and word was sent back, that they were ready to depart peaceably for Hispaniola if the admiral would furnish them with a vessel: or if he had but one, assign one half of it for their accommodation; and in the meantime divide the clothes and commodities, in his possession, with them. To this arrogant demand was added a threat, that if he refused to comply, they would come and strip him by force.

This menace they actually resolved to put into execution, and marched down within a short distance of their wrecks. Columbus being informed of their intention, detached 50 men well armed, under the command of his brother, enjoining him to expostulate with the rebels, and to refrain from hostilities, unless first attacked. The lieutenant having advanced within bow-shot of the mutineers, desired a conference with their captain. This condescension being ascribed to fear, was treated with contempt; and they immediately fell upon his men in sure hopes of victory. Their expectations, however, were disappointed. At the first charge, five out of six of the most resolute, who had sworn to cut their way through, were brought to the ground, and among them the two most daring of the conspirators.

As for their leader, Francis de Porras, he was taken prisoner; when the rest turned their backs and fled. The lieutenant, having gained a complete victory, returned to the ships with his prisoners. Himself was wounded in the hand, and another gentleman, being pierced with a spear, afterwards died. This was the only loss that the friends of Columbus sustained. The intrepid pilot, indeed, who swam ashore as formerly mentioned, had a most miraculous escape for his life. This man being spent with wounds, fell over the rocks during the fray, and was not discovered till the next evening, when some Indians found him still alive. His skull was laid open, so that his brains appeared; his arm was almost amputated;

the calf of one leg hung by a ligament; and one foot was sliced from the heel to the toes. Notwithstanding these desperate wounds, he so terrified the Indians who approached him, with curses and threats, that they fled in the utmost consternation; but the admiral being apprised of his situation, ordered him all the medical assistance in his power, and, to the surprise of every one, he recovered.

To prevent future animosities, and a scarcity of provisions on board, the admiral detained Porras in confinement; and appointed a proper person to command and lead about the captive malecontents, for the convenience of finding subsistence, in exchange for such commodities as they had been supplied with.

All dissensions among the Spaniards being thus composed, the Indians became sensible of the danger of giving them offence; and assiduously supplied them with provisions. A year had now elapsed since the Spaniards were wrecked at Jamaica. The ship which Mendez had purchased, at last arrived; and Columbus, with his whole company, embarked on the 28th of June, and, after a troublesome voyage, reached St. Domingo on the 18th of August, 1504. Here the governor received him with the most fawning attentions; but as a proof that his hospitalities were only affectation, he set Porras at liberty, and even threatened to punish those who had been active in apprehending him. As soon as the admiral's ship had been refitted, and another engaged for the accommodation of his friends, he sailed for Europe on the 2d of September. But before they had been two leagues at sea, the mast of his consort came by the board, on which she was sent back to be repaired, while he proceeded on his voyage.

After being dimasted in a violent storm, and struggling with many difficulties, as well as a fit of the gout, Columbus at last arrived in the port of St. Lucar de Barrameda. He had no sooner landed than he heard, with unspeakable regret, of the death of his munificent patroness, Isabella; a blow which he never recovered. Ferdinand, indeed, treated him with courteous attention; but gave strong intimations, that the terms he had stipulated for himself were too advantageous,

and wished to propose coming to a new agreement. This however never took place; the negotiations entered into were interrupted by the accession of Philip to the throne of Castile, and Columbus worn out with infirmities and chagrin, yielded up the ghost at Valladolid on the 20th of May, 1506, in the 64th year of his age. He died with a composure of mind suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion, which he manifested in every occurrence of his life. His remains were conveyed, by the king's order, to Seville, where some authors say, he was magnificently interred, in the monastery of the Carthusians; and that a monument was erected to his memory charged with this inscription,

A GASTILIA Y A LEON
NUEVO MUNDO DEO' COLON.

Which may be thus translated,

TO CASTILE AND LEON,
A NEW WORLD WAS GIVEN BY COLUMBUS.

Others assert, that his monument only exists at Seville; for that his body was buried at St. Domingo, in the chancel of the cathedral; and an article in the public prints from Spain, on the late cession of Hispaniola to France, seems to confirm this belief. For we read, that the remains of Columbus were to be transferred, with great pomp, from St. Domingo to Cuba.

Such were the adventures and the end of Columbus: a man whom all posterity will view with admiration, and honour with applause. The ingratitude he experienced is the usual return for services too great to be repaid. The pander or minion of power may receive an adequate reward for his degrading servilities; but he who eclipses the splendour of an original kingdom by such an accession as a new world, may excite envy, but cannot meet with a due recompence, without being considered as a rival to his prince. Perhaps the grand source of

the misfortunes of Columbus was his indiscreet stipulation for a joint authority in his new discoveries. His good sense might have told him, that it was impossible to be a partner with a king.

We shall conclude the history of Columbus' voyages, with his character, as delineated by a Spanish writer of veracity. 'Columbus,' says he, 'was tall of stature, had a long visage, and a majestic aspect. His nose was aquiline, his eyes grey, and his complexion clear and ruddy. When young, his hair and beard were fair; but hardships soon turned them grey. He was a man of wit and pleasantry, eloquent in discourse, yet moderately grave in his deportment. His affability to strangers, and his judicious conversation, gained him the affection of every ingenious mind; while an air of authority and grandeur attracted respect. He was strict in his religious observances himself, and obliged those who were under his command to show at least a decent regard to this sacred institution. He had an earnest concern for the conversion of the Indians, and endeavoured as much as was in his power to allure them, by obliging the Spaniards to lead a life in some measure corresponding to the faith they professed. His courage was undaunted; he was fond of great enterprises, temperate in living, modest in dress, patient under injuries; and much more anxious to bring his enemies to a sense of their offences, than to retaliate injustice. He remained unmoved amidst the numerous dangers and adversities that attended him, ever placing a firm reliance on Divine Providence. In short, had he lived in earlier times, his conduct and his achievements would have procured him statues and temples to his honour. He would have been ranked with Hercules and Bacchus; and a constellation perhaps would have borne his name. However, he will be remembered as long as the world endures!

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AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
CONQUEST OF MEXICO;
BY
HERNANDO CORTES.

THERE is something so stupendous in the conquests of Mexico and Peru, that mankind must ever feel an interest in the recital. The history of those events is as honourable to European courage and capacity, as it is disgraceful to the principles and conduct of the chief actors on the stage. In vain shall the nations of Europe plume themselves on superior refinement; in vain shall they boast of a pure religion and a correct system of morals, while they feel no compunction in enslaving the ignorant savage, in monopolizing his wealth, or in occupying his land.

It having been determined to fit out an expedition for the continent of America, to take advantage of circumstances, and to enrich the adventurers and their employers with gold, **HERNANDO CORTES** was appointed commander. This gentleman was born at Meritellin, a town of Estremadura in Spain; and being bred to a military life, resolved to push his fortune in the West Indies, whither he sailed in 1504, with letters of recommendation to his kinsman Don Nicholas de Obando, then governor of Hispaniola. His ambition, however, was not satisfied; and therefore, in 1511, he obtained permission to accompany Diego Velasquez in an expedition to Cuba. In this service he distinguished himself so much, that he received an ample concession of lands and of Indians, the usual recompence bestowed upon adventurers in the New World.

Cortes, naturally ardent and active, displayed other qualities, which adapted him for difficult and hazardous enterprises. With calm prudence in concerting schemes, and persevering vigour in executing them, he combined the art of gaining the confidence and governing the minds of those with whom he was concerned. To these superior accomplishments, he added others of an inferior kind, that are suited to strike the vulgar, and command their respect; a graceful person, an engaging aspect, singular address in martial exercises, and a robust constitution capable of enduring any fatigue.

Cortes, however, at the commencement of his adventure, found, that in the suspicious and jealous temper of Velasquez, he had difficulties with which to contend, that required a very high degree of prudence and resolution, and these difficulties were enhanced in the progress of his undertaking. On the 18th of November, 1518, he set sail from St. Jago de Cuba; but he had no sooner arrived at Trinidad, a small settlement on the same side of the island, before Velasquez made an attempt to deprive him of his commission. Cortes, however, had so far engaged the esteem and confidence of his troops that, partly by soothing, and partly by intimidating Vergudo, a magistrate at Trinidad, to whom Velasquez had sent his instructions, he was allowed to depart without molestation from Trinidad. Cortes sailed for the Havannah in order to raise more soldiers, and to complete the victualling of his fleet.

During his unavoidable stay in this place, Velasquez sent orders for arresting him, and for delaying the departure of the armament. Cortes, forewarned of the danger, had time to take precautions for his own safety. He announced to his troops the hostile intentions of Velasquez, and found that both his officers and soldiers, who were intent on an expedition which flattered them with the hopes of glory and wealth, were determined to persevere; and accordingly they were unanimous in their intreaties that he would not abandon the important station to which he was so well intitled; offering, at the same time, to shed the last drop of their blood in supporting his authority. Cortes did not hesitate in complying with their wishes; swore that he would never desert them.

and promised to conduct them without further delay, to that rich country, which had been so long the object of their thoughts and wishes.

Had this expedition happened in very remote ages, so romantic are the circumstances attending it, that it would have ranked, in point of authenticity with the Argonautic, or the labours of Hercules. Never was more achieved by less improbable means. The empire of Mexico had subsisted for many centuries: its inhabitants were far advanced in refinement, and remote from barbarism; they were intelligent, and in some degree learned. Like the ancient Egyptians, whose wisdom is so much admired in this particular, they knew the annual revolution of the sun, with a precision which could scarcely have been expected from a people unacquainted with letters. They fixed the period of the year at 365 days nearly, Their superiority in military affairs was the object of admiration and terror over the remote parts of the continent; and their constitution, founded on the sure basis of religion and law, seemed as permanent as time itself. The cities displayed magnificence in architecture, and opulence in their decorations. But all these advantages combined could not secure Mexico from the unequal prowess of Spain.

Though this expedition was fitted out by the united efforts of the Spanish power in Cuba; though every settlement had contributed its quota of men and provisions; though the governor had laid out considerable sums, and each adventurer had exhausted his stock, or strained his credit, the poverty of the preparations was such as must astorish the present age, and bore, indeed, no resemblance to an armament destined for the conquest of a great empire. The fleet consisted of 11 vessels; the largest of 100 tons, which was dignified by the name of Admiral; three of 70 or 80 tons, and the rest small open barks. On board of these vessels were 617 men; of which 508 belonged to the land service, and 109 were seamen or artificers. The soldiers were divided into 11 companies, according to the number of the ships, to each of which Cortes appointed a captain, and committed to him the command of the vessel while at sea, and of the men when on shore. As

the use of fire arms among the nations of Europe was hitherto confined to a few battalions of regularly disciplined infantry; only 13 soldiers were armed with muskets, 32 were cross-bow men, and the rest had swords and spears. Instead of the usual defensive armour, which must have been cumbersome in a hot climate, the soldiers wore jackets quilted with cotton, which experience had taught the Spaniards to be a sufficient protection against the weapons of the Americans. They had only 16 horses, 10 small field-pieces, and four falconets.

With this slender and ill provided train did Cortes set sail on the 10th of February, 1519, to make war upon a monarch whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown. As religious enthusiasm always mingled with the spirit of adventure in the New World, and, by a combination still more strange, united with avarice, in prompting the Spaniards to all their enterprises, a large cross was displayed in their standards, with this inscription, *Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer.*

Cortes steering directly towards the island of Cozumel, had the good fortune to redeem Jerome de Aguilar, a Spaniard, who had been eight years a prisoner among the Indians. This man was perfectly acquainted with a dialect of their language, understood through a large extent of country, and possessing besides a considerable share of prudence and sagacity, proved extremely useful as an interpreter. From Cozumel, Cortes proceeded to the river of Tobasco [March 4], in hopes of meeting a friendly reception from the natives; but, after repeated endeavours to conciliate their good will, he was constrained to have recourse to violence. Though the forces of the enemy were numerous, and advanced with extraordinary courage, they were routed with great slaughter, in several successive actions. The loss which they sustained, and still more the astonishment and terror excited by the destructive effect of the fire-arms, and the dreadful appearance of the horses, humbled their fierce spirits, and induced them to sue for peace. They acknowledged the king of Castile as their sovereign, and granted Cortes a supply of provisions, with a present of cotton garments, some gold, and 20 female slaves.

Cortes continued his course to the westward, keeping as near the shore as possible, in order to observe the country; but could discover no proper place for landing, until he arrived at St. Juan de Ulua. As he entered this harbour [April 2], a large canoe, full of people, among whom were two who seemed to be persons of distinction, approached his ship with signs of peace and amity. They came on board without fear or distrust, and addressed him in a most respectful manner, but in a language altogether unknown to Aguilar. Cortes was in the utmost perplexity and distress, at an event of which he instantly foresaw all the consequences. But he did not remain long in his embarrassing situation: a fortunate accident extricated him, when his own sagacity could have contributed little towards his relief. One of the female slaves, whom he had received from the cazique of Tobasco, happened to be present at the first interview between Cortes and his new guests. She perceived his distress, as well as the confusion of Aguilar; and as she perfectly understood the Mexican language, she explained what they said in the Yucatan tongue, with which Aguilar was acquainted.

He now learned, that the two persons whom he had received on board of his ship were deputies from Tuetile and Pilpatoe, two officers entrusted with the government of that province, by a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma; and that they were sent to inquire what his intentions were in visiting their coast, and to offer him what assistance he might need in order to continue his voyage. Cortes, struck with the appearance of those people, as well as the tenor of the message, assured them, in respectful terms, that he approached their country with most friendly sentiments, and came to propose matters of great importance to the welfare of their prince and his kingdom, which he would unfold more fully, in person, to the governor and the general. Next morning, without waiting for any answer, he landed his troops, his horses, and artillery; and having chosen proper ground, began to erect huts for his men, and to fortify his camp. The natives, instead of opposing the entrance of those fatal guests into their

country, assisted them in all their operations, with an alacrity of which they had ere long good reason to repent.

Next day Teutile and Pilpatoe entered the Spanish camp with a numerous retinue, and Cortes considering them as the ministers of a great monarch, entitled to a degree of attention very different from that which the Spaniards were accustomed to pay to the petty caziques, with whom they had intercourse in the isles, received them with much formal ceremony. He informed them, that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos of Austria, king of Castile, the greatest monarch of the East, and was intrusted with propositions of such moment, that he could impart them to none but the emperor Montezuma himself, and therefore required them to conduct him, without loss of time, into the presence of their master. Whilst they hesitated in complying with his request, they endeavoured to conciliate his good will by costly presents, the display of which served to increase the avidity of the Spaniards, and their eagerness to take possession of a country which abounded with such precious productions. The deputies dissuaded Cortes from visiting the capital; but he with a haughty determined tone insisted on his demand of being admitted to a personal audience of their sovereign.

During the interview some Mexican painters were employed in delineating upon white cotton cloths figures of the ships, the homes, the artillery, the soldiers, and whatever else attracted their notice, as singular. These pictures, as Cortes was informed, were to be sent to Montezuma, in order to give him a better idea of the objects now presented to their view than any words could do: and therefore he resolved to make the representation more animated and interesting by exhibiting a spectacle which might give them and their monarch an awful impression of the extraordinary prowess of his followers, and the irresistible force of their arms. The trumpets were ordered to sound an alarm; the troops instantly formed in order of battle; the infantry performed such martial exercises as were best suited to display the effect of their different weapons; the horse by various evolutions gave a specimen of their agility

and strength; and the artillery, pointed towards the thick wood which surrounded their camp, made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans were amazed, and at the explosion of the cannon many fled, and some fell to the ground; and Cortes found it difficult to compose their minds and preserve their confidence in their own safety. The painters put their fancy on the stretch in inventing figures and characters for representing the extraordinary things which they had seen. These pictures were dispatched to Montezuma, and Cortes sent along with them a present of some European curiosities.

Although the capital, in which Montezuma resided, was above 180 miles from St. Juan de Ulua, Cortes's presents were carried thither, and an answer to his demands was received in a few days. As it was such as would be likely to irritate and not satisfy him, the messengers introduced themselves, followed by a train of 100 Indians, loaded with presents sent by Montezuma. Among these were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold representing the sun, and the other of silver representing the moon, which latter was in value about 5,000*l.* sterling. These were accompanied with various other costly articles, consisting of golden ornaments and boxes of pearls and precious stones. When these presents were delivered, Cortes was informed that Montezuma would not consent that his troops should approach nearer to his capital, or even to allow them to continue longer in his dominions. The Spanish general still insisted on his first demand; and Montezuma, though haughty, violent, and impatient of controul in his own temper, instead of falling on the Spaniards, whilst they were encamped on a barren unhealthy coast, without an ally, renewed his negociation. In order to account for this indiscretion and timidity, it is said an opinion prevailed universally among the Americans, that some dreadful calamity would befall their country by means of formidable invaders who should come from regions towards the rising sun. The superstition and credulity of the Mexicans represented the Spaniards as the instruments of that fatal revolution which they dreaded. Hence it ceases to be incredible, that a few adventurers, like Cortes and his attendants, should

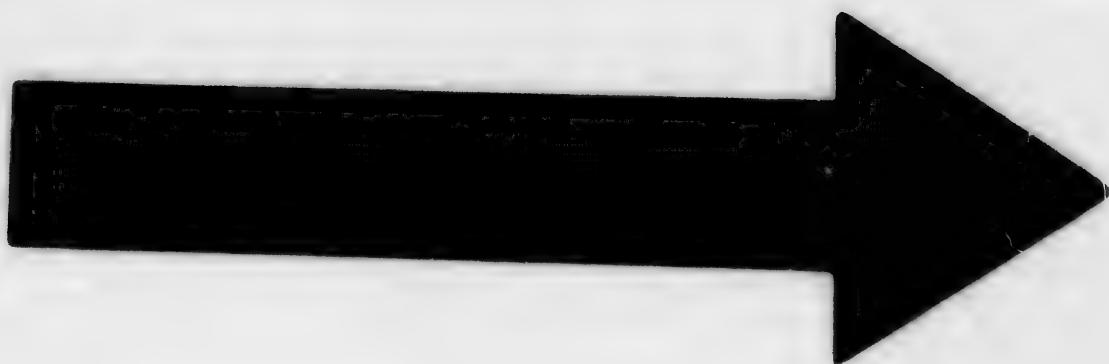
alarm the monarch of a great empire and all his subjects. Instead of taking effectual measures for expelling these invaders, Montezuma, after consulting his ministers, renewed his injunctions in more positive terms, requiring them to leave the country; but this injunction was accompanied with a present of such value, as furnished a fresh inducement to remain there. The Spaniards perceiving that hostile measures would become necessary, began to feel uneasiness; and the party of Velasquez disseminated jealousies and fears. In the mean while, Cortes took every measure, by kind attention and a liberal distribution of Mexican gold, to secure the affection and attachment of the soldiers. As he persisted in his demand of an audience on the part of the Mexican sovereign, the messenger quitted the camp with looks and gestures which expressed his surprise and resentment; and soon after the natives, who brought provisions to the camp, discontinued their visits. Every circumstance indicated the speedy commencement of hostilities; and dissatisfaction prevailed more and more in the Spanish camp. Cortes temporized and seemed to concur in the wishes of those, who were inclined to desist from the enterprise; and accordingly he issued orders, that the army should be in readiness to re-embark for Cuba. The disappointed adventurers exclaimed and threatened, and the whole camp was almost in an open mutiny. In an interview with their commander, they expressed their astonishment at the order which he had issued; declared their readiness to follow him with alacrity through every danger, in quest of those settlements and treasures which had been so long held out to their view: and at the same time, announced their resolution, if he chose to return to Cuba, to chuse another general, who would conduct them in that path of glory which he had not spirit to enter. The experiment succeeded; and Cortes finding the spirit that prevailed among his troops, professed his readiness to conduct them, agreeably to their wishes, in the career of victory, to such independent fortunes as their valour merited. Upon this declaration, shouts of applause testified the excess of their joy. Cortes immediately began to execute his design. Having assembled the principal persons in his army, he elected,

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by their suffrages, a council and magistrates, in whom the government of the new colony should be vested; framing the new settlement upon the model of a Spanish corporation. All the persons chosen into office were most firmly devoted to Cortes. Combining the two operative principles of avarice and enthusiasm, he called his new settlement 'Villa rica de la vera Cruz,' i. e. *The rich Town of the true Cross*.

When this new council was established, Cortes, after an artful harangue, laid the commission, which he had received of Velasquez, upon the table, and, after kissing his truncheon, delivered it to the chief magistrate, and withdrew. The council, being well prepared for the measures that were to follow, did not long deliberate: the resignation of Cortes was accepted, and he was unanimously elected chief-justice of the colony, and captain-general of the army; and the commission was made out in the king's name, with most ample powers. The soldiers, with eager applause, ratified the choice; the air resounded with the name of Cortes, and all avowed to shed their blood in support of his authority. Having imprisoned the leaders of the malecontents, who were the adherents of Velasquez, he secured the confidence of his attendants, by a seasonable and liberal distribution of Mexican gold among both his friends and opponents.

At this time a message was brought to him from Zempoalla, a considerable town at no great distance, with an offer of friendship; accompanied with intimations that the cazique of this town hated Montezuma, and wished to be rescued from the oppression of his yoke. Cortes knew how to avail himself of this circumstance, and determined to march to Zempoalla. This town lay in his way to Quiabiskan, about 40 miles to the northward, and which, both on account of the fertility of the soil and commodiousness of the harbour, seemed to be a better situation for a permanent settlement than that where he was encamped. Here he marked out ground for a town; and aided by the Indians of Zempoalla and Quiabiskan, the place was soon in a state fit for habitation and capable of defence. The caziques of these two towns, emboldened by their alliance with the Spaniards, insulted the officers who appeared to levy



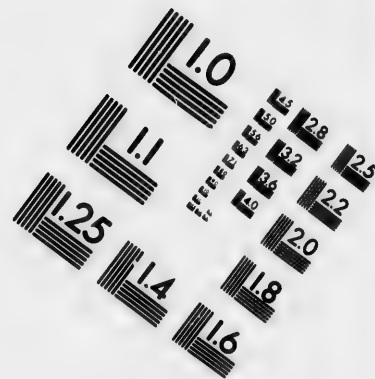
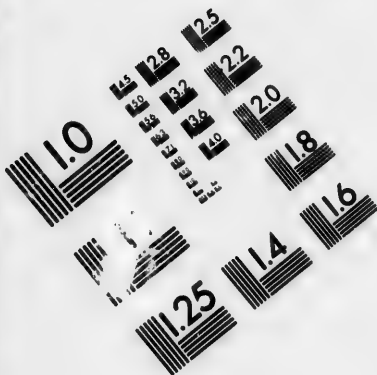
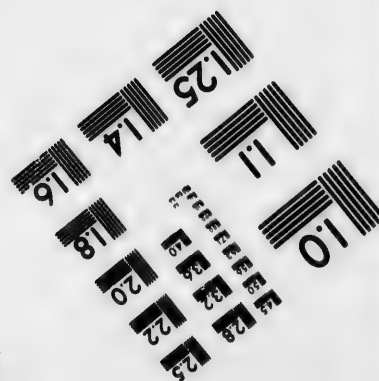
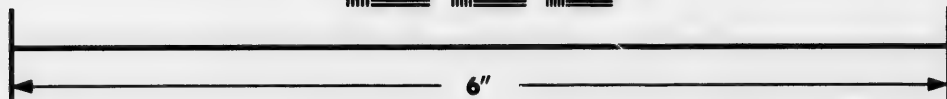
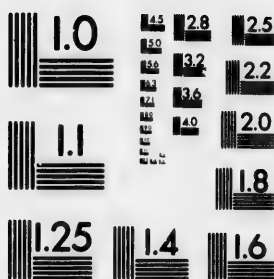


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tribute, and to demand a number of human victims in expiation of their guilt, for presuming to hold intercourse with strangers, who had been ordered out of his dominions by the emperor; committed them to prison, and prepared to sacrifice them to their gods. From this last danger Cortes rescued them.

The caziques, having thus forfeited the protection of the emperor, attached themselves to the Spaniards; and their example was followed by the Totonagues, a fierce people, who inhabited the mountainous part of the country. Cortes now wished to have his authority confirmed by the king; and he therefore proposed that the magistrates of his colony should address a letter to him, recounting the services they had already performed; the extent, population, riches and civilization of the country they had discovered; and their schemes and hopes for reducing the whole to subjection; together with their reasons for vesting the supreme power, civil as well as military, in the hands of Cortes; and also requesting their sovereign to ratify what they had done by his royal authority. Cortes wrote in a similar strain. A present also, the richest of any that had hitherto been transmitted from the New World, accompanied these letters; and the chief magistrates of the colony were deputed to carry this present to Castile, with express orders not to touch at Cuba in their passage thither. While a vessel was preparing for this service, a conspiracy against Cortes was formed by some adherents of Velasquez; but it terminated by the treachery of one of their associates, who disclosed their design, when every thing was ready for execution. This conspiracy hastened the accomplishment of a scheme, long formed by Cortes; which was that of destroying his fleet, so that he and his companions must either conquer or die. His address gained their consent; and by an effort of magnanimity, unparalleled in history, 500 men voluntarily consented to be shut up in a hostile country, and having precluded every method of escape, left themselves without any resource but their own valour and perseverance.

Cortes, however, was precipitated into actions inconsistent with the prudence that distinguished his character; for he

commanded his soldiers to overturn the altars, and to destroy the idols in the chief temple of Zempoalla, and in their place to erect a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. The people witnessed this deed of sacrilege with astonishment and horror; the priests excited them to arms; and it required the masterly address of Cortes to appease the commotions without bloodshed.

On the 16th of August, 1519, Cortes began his march from Zempoalla into the country, with 500 men, 13 horse, and 6 field-pieces. The rest of his troops he left as a garrison in Villa Rica. The cazique of Zempoalla furnished him with provisions, and with 200 Indians, called 'Temoenes,' whose office was to carry burdens, and perform all servile labour. He also supplied Cortes with a body of troops, amounting to 400. When he arrived on the confines of Tlascala, he found the inhabitants hostile and preparing to oppose their invaders. When the Spaniards entered into the Tlascalan territories, they were attacked with great intrepidity, and during 14 days they were exposed to almost uninterrupted assaults; but after three battles and many skirmishes, so imperfect were the military weapons of these people, not one Spaniard was killed in the field. After several unavailing encounters, the fierceness of the Tlascalans abated, and they seriously inclined to peace. At length they yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations.

Cortes remained 20 days in Tlascala, reposing his troops after hard service, and concerting the plans of his future operations. The Tlascalans offered to accompany him in his march to Mexico, with all the forces of the republic, under the command of their most experienced captains. The intemperate zeal of Cortes was very near depriving him of all these benefits. Explaining to the Tlascalans some of the chief doctrines of the Christian religion; insisting upon abandoning their own superstitions, and embracing the faith of their new friends, and mingling menaces with arguments, he at length excited the indignation of these people, who had long heard him with singular patience and candour; and they conjured

him to desist, lest the gods should avenge on their heads the guilt of having listened to such a proposition. Cortes was proceeding to violence, but was restrained by the interposition of father Bartholomew de Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition. Accordingly he left the Tlascalans in the undisturbed exercise of their own rites, requiring only that they should desist from their horrid practice of offering human victims in sacrifice.

Cortes, against the remonstrance of the Tlascalans, advanced towards Cholula, which had been an independent state, but had lately been subject to the Mexican empire. Finding the inhabitants to be treacherous, and to be contriving his destruction, whilst they received him with seeming hospitality and kindness, he avenged himself without mercy, and slaughtered 6,000 persons. From Cholula, Cortes advanced directly towards Mexico, which was only distant 20 leagues: and as he proceeded, the discontents against the Mexican government, that were manifested by the people, encouraged his hopes. In descending from the mountains of Chalco, the vast plain of Mexico opened to their view, and presented the most beautiful prospect on the face of the earth; fertile and cultivated fields, a lake resembling the sea in extent, encompassed with large towns, and the capital city rising upon an island in the middle, adorned with its temples and its turrets. They were now fully satisfied that the country was rich beyond any conception they had previously formed of it; and they flattered themselves that they should soon obtain an ample recompence for all their services and sufferings. No enemy had yet appeared to oppose their progress, and Cortes was almost at the gates of the capital, before the monarch had determined whether to receive him as a friend, or to oppose him as an enemy. The Spaniards marched forward, however, with great circumspection. At length, as they drew near the city, about 1,000 persons, apparently of distinction, came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes, and clad in mantles of fine cotton. They announced the approach of Montezuma, who advanced in the midst of a great number of attendants, with extraordinary magnificence and pomp, in a chair or litter richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of different colours. Cortes, when he

drove near, dismounted and advanced towards him in a respectful posture. Montezuma at the same time alighted from his chair, and walked over the cotton cloths which covered the street. After mutual salutations were reciprocally paid and returned; Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters allotted for his reception, and politely took his leave.

In this new habitation, surrounded by a stone wall with towers at proper distances, the first care of Cortes was to take precautions for his security by planting the artillery so as to command the different avenues which led to it, by appointing a large division of his troops, to be always on guard, and by posting sentinels at proper stations. In the evening Montezuma returned with the same pomp as in the first interview, surrounded by a great number of his officers, among whom were many particularly attached to his person, and zealous for the honour and independence of their country; yet awed by the impressions of superstition, they witnessed the humiliation of their sovereign without daring to interfere, and even Montezuma had the imprudence to inform Cortes what was his opinion with respect to the Spaniards, and how he supposed Cortes and his followers were the persons whose appearance the Mexican tradition and prophecies taught them to expect, and that he was disposed to receive them as relations of the same blood and parentage. Cortes, in reply, extolled the dignity and power of his sovereign, and announced his intention in sending him into that country, favouring as much as possible the idea which Montezuma had formed concerning the origin of the Spaniards. After some days spent in viewing the city, he revolved in his mind what conduct in his situation it was proper for him to pursue; and all circumstances considered, he determined, as the most politic measure, to seize Montezuma in his palace, and to carry him as a prisoner to the Spanish quarters. When this bold measure was proposed to his officers, the timid started many difficulties and objections; but the more intelligent and resolute approved of it; and it was agreed instantly to make the attempt.

At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes, accompanied by five principal officers, and as many trusty soldiers,

went to the palace ; and they were followed by 80 chosen men : the rest of the troops were properly distributed and under arms ready to sally forth on the first alarm. Cortes, admitted to an audience, addressed Montezuma in the language of complaint and reproach ; and Montezuma attempted to vindicate himself from accusation. The Spanish general thought it necessary, that Montezuma, in order to convince his followers that he entertained no hostile intentions, should leave his own palace, and take up his residence in the Spanish quarters. After much hesitation and remonstrance, and under the influence of apprehensions concerning his own safety, the emperor complied. In the Spanish quarters, to which he was conveyed amidst the murmurs of the people, he was treated with ceremonious respect. After some time, Cortes entered his apartment, accompanied by a soldier with a pair of fetters ; and addressing him with a stern countenance, told him that as the persons who were about to suffer for attacking the Spaniards near Villa Rica, had charged him as the cause of the outrage committed, it was necessary that he also should make atonement for that guilt ; and he commanded the soldier to clap the fetters on his legs. The monarch sunk under the indignity, and his attendants bathed his feet with their tears. At length Cortes returned from the execution of the persons that had been found guilty, with a cheerful countenance, and ordered the fetters to be taken off. This seems to have been, on the part of Cortes, a wanton exercise of power ; though it has been vindicated on the ground of policy : as it tended to press the minds of the Mexicans with a persuasion, that shedding the blood of a Spaniard, of which the persons now executed had been guilty, was the most heinous of all crimes ; and nothing appeared better calculated to establish this opinion, than to condemn the first Mexicans who had ventured to commit it to a cruel death, and to oblige their monarch himself to submit to a mortifying indignity, as an expiation for being accessory to their guilt.

During the six months of Cortes's abode in Mexico, Montezuma continued in the Spanish quarters with apparent satisfaction and tranquillity ; and whilst he was thus under the

power, and, as it were, in the custody of the Spanish general, Cortes enjoyed peculiar advantage for examining the state of the country, and acquainting himself with the disposition of the inhabitants. He also by these means obtained such a command of the lake as might ensure a retreat, if either from levity or disgust, the Mexicans should take up arms against him, and break down the bridges or causeways. Cortes urged Montezuma to acknowledge himself a vassal of the king of Spain, to hold his crown of him as superior, and to subject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. Such was the influence of the Spanish general over the Mexican monarch, that with this requisition, degrading as it was, he was so obsequious as to comply. This act of submission and homage was executed with all the formalities which the Spaniards were pleased to prescribe; and as a profession of fealty and homage, it was accompanied with a magnificent present to his new sovereign; and after his example his subjects also made very liberal contributions. The whole amount of the treasure which the Spaniards had received, by gift or extortion, from Montezuma and his subjects, is estimated at 600,000 *pesos*, which was divided by Cortes in the following manner: a fifth was set apart as a tax due to the king; another fifth was allotted to Cortes, as commander in chief; the sums advanced by Velasquez, Cortes, and some of the officers, towards defraying the expence of fitting out the armament, were also deducted; and the remainder was divided among the army, in proportion to the different ranks. After so many defalcations the share of a private man did not exceed 100 *pesos*. This occasioned great murmurings among the soldiers, so that it required all the address of Cortes, and no small exertion of his liberality, to appease them.

Montezuma, though he complied in many instances with the requisitions and wishes of Cortes, was inflexible on the subject of religion. When the Spanish commander found all his attempts to shake the constancy of Montezuma ineffectual, he was so much enraged at his obstinacy, that in a transport of zeal he led out his soldiers to throw down the idols in the great temple by force. But the priests taking arms in defence

of their altars, and the people crowding to support them, Cortes was obliged to desist, and prudence overruled his zeal. The Mexicans, ever since the confinement of their sovereign, had been meditating how they might expel or destroy the Spaniards; and they thought themselves under a sacred kind of obligation to avenge their insulted deities. Montezuma, having called Cortes into his presence, observed to him that, as all the purposes of his embassy were fully accomplished, the gods had declared their will, and the people signified their desire, that he and his followers should instantly depart out of the empire. With this he required them to comply, or unavoidable destruction would fall suddenly on their heads. Cortes replied, that he had already begun to prepare for returning to his own country; but as he had destroyed the vessels in which he had arrived, some time was requisite for building other ships.

In this state of anxiety and suspense, a Mexican courier arrived with an account of some ships having appeared on the coast. This was an armament fitted out by Velasquez at Vera Cruz, and instead of bringing the aid they expected, threatened them with utter destruction. Velasquez had received information concerning Cortes by means of the vessel that had been dispatched for Spain, and which contrary to orders had touched at Cuba. He immediately exerted himself in completing an armament, consisting of 18 ships, having on board 80 horsemen, 800 foot soldiers, of whom 80 were musketeers, and 120 cross-bow-men, together with a train of 12 pieces of cannon. The command of this armament was entrusted with Pamphilo de Narvaez, who had instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, to send them as prisoners to Velasquez, and then to complete the discovery and conquest of the country in his name. Cortes was alarmed, and not without reason, by the news of the arrival of Narvaez; and more especially when he heard, that several provinces, in his interest, began to revolt from him, and to regard Narvaez as a deliverer no less able than willing to save them. The measures which it would be prudent for him to adopt required the utmost deliberation. After revolving every scheme that presented itself

to his mind with deep attention, he adopted that, the execution of which was the most hazardous; but which if successful, would prove most beneficial to his country; and with the decisive intrepidity suited to desperate situations, he determined to make one bold effort for victory under every disadvantage, rather than sacrifice his own conquests and the Spanish interest in Mexico. When his attempts for negotiating with the followers of Narvaez had failed, he determined to advance towards an enemy whom he had in vain endeavoured to appease. Accordingly, having left 150 men in the capital to guard the city, the wealth he had amassed, and the person of the imprisoned monarch, he advanced with a force not exceeding 250 men towards Zempoalla, of which Narvaez had taken possession. Having conciliated some of Narvaez's officers by liberal presents, he attacked him in the night, and availing himself of several advantages that had occurred, he obtained a decisive victory; so that before morning the officers of Narvaez capitulated, and the soldiers laid down their arms, and submitted quietly to their conquerors.

Soon after this victory, Cortes received information from the capital, that the Mexicans had taken arms against the Spaniards, and therefore he hastened back with all his forces as rapidly as possible; and in his march he was joined at Tlascala by 2,000 chosen warriors. The Mexicans had made no preparation for resisting his entrance; but immediately on his arrival he was admitted into the city without molestation, and took quiet possession of his ancient station. Emboldened by his success, he treated Montezuma with neglect and his subjects with insult; and thus provoked the Mexicans to renew their hostility. The number who took up arms were considerable, and their courage undaunted. One body of troops succeeded another amidst bloodshed and slaughter, so that the abilities and experience of Cortes, seconded by the valour of his soldiers, were hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications that surrounded the posts where the Spaniards were stationed. Cortes prepared for a sally, with such a considerable force as might either drive the enemy out of the city,

or compel them to listen to terms of accommodation. He attacked them, however without success; and though vast numbers of the Mexicans fell, the Spaniards were at length obliged to retire, 12 soldiers having been killed and 60 wounded. In another unsuccessful sally, the general himself was wounded in the hand. When the Mexicans approached to renew the assault, Montezuma was presented to their view; and he addressed them with every argument that could mitigate their rage, or persuade them to cease from hostilities. As soon as he had ended his discourse, the Mexicans poured in flights of arrows and volleys of stones with such violence on the ramparts, as to wound the unhappy monarch and strike him to the ground. Cortes followed him to his apartment in order to console him under his misfortune; but Montezuma perceiving his degradation, his spirit revived, and he scorned to prolong his life after his last humiliation. Stripping the bandages from his wounds in a transport of rage, and refusing to take any nourishment, he soon ended his wretched days; refusing with disdain all the solicitations of the Spaniards to embrace the Christian faith.

Upon the death of Montezuma, Cortes lost all hopes of bringing the Mexicans to an accommodation, and prepared for a retreat. In accomplishing his design, he was engaged in new conflicts. At length they determined to retire secretly in the night; but they had not proceeded far before the Mexicans discovered them, and made dispositions for a formidable attack. When morning dawned, it discovered to Cortes, who had arrived at Tacuba with those of his followers that had survived, his shattered battalion, reduced to less than half its original number, in a dejected and wounded condition; and the sight caused the tears to trickle from his eyes, which his soldiers observed with satisfaction, concluding that while attentive to the duties of a general he was not insensible to the feelings of a man. Having retired to an adjacent temple for the repose and refreshment of his troops, exhausted with fatigue, he there deliberated what course to pursue; and at length determined to march towards the Tlascalan territo-

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ries. In their way thither they encountered many attacks; but upon their arrival, they were received with tenderness and cordiality.

Having obtained several reinforcements, he mustered 550 infantry, of whom 80 were armed with muskets or cross-bows, 40 horsemen, and a train of 9 field-pieces. At the head of these, accompanied by 10,000 Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, Cortes began his march towards Mexico, on the 28th of December, 1520, six months after his disastrous retreat from that city. As he advanced thither, he found that the Mexicans were prepared to oppose his progress. He therefore took possession of Tezeuco, the second city of the empire, situated on the banks of the lake, 20 miles from Mexico. Here he established his head-quarters; and deposing the chief who was at the head of the community, he placed another cazique in his room, who, together with his adherents, served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity. Here he employed himself with singular assiduity in preparing a naval armament of 13 brigantines, for aiding his future operations; and in the mean while 4 ships arrived at Vera Cruz from Hispaniola, with 200 soldiers, 8 horses, 2 battering-rams, and a considerable supply of ammunition and arms. Elevated with observing that all his preparatory schemes, either for recruiting his own army, or impairing the force of the enemy, had now produced their full effect, Cortes, impatient to begin the siege of the capital in form, hastened the launching of the brigantines. On the 28th of April, all the Spanish troops, together with the auxiliary Indians, were drawn up on the banks of the canal; and with extraordinary military pomp, rendered more solemn by the celebration of the most sacred rites of religion, the brigantines were launched. As they fell down the canal in order, father Olmeda blessed them, and gave each its name. Every eye followed them with wonder and hope, until they entered the lake, when they hoisted their sails, and bore away before the wind. A general shout of joy was raised; all admiring that bold inventive genius, which, by means so extraordinary that their success almost exceeded belief, had acquired the command of a fleet, without the aid of which Mexico

would have continued to set the Spanish power and arms at defiance.

Cortes determined to attack the city from three different quarters; from Tepeaca on the north side of the lake, from Tacuba on the west, and from Cuyocan towards the south. Those towns were situated on the principal causeways which led to the capital, and intended for their defence. He appointed Sandoval to command in the first, Pedro de Alvarado in the second, and Christoval de Olid in the third; allotting to each a numerous body of Indian auxiliaries, together with an equal division of Spaniards, who by the junction of the troops from Hispaniola, amounted now to 86 horsemen, and 818 foot soldiers; of whom 118 were armed with muskets or cross-bows. The train of artillery consisted of three battering cannon, and 15 field-pieces. He reserved for himself, as the station of the greatest importance and danger, the conduct of the brigantines, each armed with one of his small cannon, and manned with 25 Spaniards.

As Alvarado and Olid proceeded towards the posts assigned them (May 10), they broke down the aqueducts which the ingenuity of the Mexicans had erected for conveying water into the capital, and by the distress to which this reduced the inhabitants, gave a beginning to the calamities which they were destined to suffer. Alvarado and Olid found the towns of which they were ordered to take possession deserted by their inhabitants, who had fled for safety to the capital, where Guatimozin, who was called to the throne upon the death of Montezuma, had collected the chief force of his empire, as there alone he could hope to make a successful stand against the formidable enemies who were approaching to assault him.

The first effort of the Mexicans was to destroy the fleet of brigantines, the fatal effects of whose operations they foresaw and dreaded. Though the brigantines, after all the labour and merit of Cortes in forming them, were of inconsiderable bulk, rudely constructed, and manned chiefly with landmen, hardly possessed of skill enough to conduct them, they must have been objects of terror to a people unacquainted with any navigation but that of their lake, and possessed of no vessel

larger than a canoe. Necessity, however, urged Guatimozin to hazard the attack; and hoping to supply by number what he wanted in force, he assembled such a multitude of canoes as covered the face of the lake. They rowed on boldly to the charge, while the brigantines, retarded by a dead calm, could scarcely advance to meet them. But as the enemy drew near, a breeze suddenly sprung up; in a moment the sails were spread, the brigantines, with the utmost ease, broke through their feeble opponents, overset many canoes, and dissipated the armament with such slaughter, as convinced the Mexicans, that the progress of the Europeans in knowledge and arts rendered their superiority greater on this new element, than any had hitherto found it by land.

From that time Cortes remained master of the lake, and the brigantines not only preserved a communication between the Spaniards in their different stations, though at considerable distances from each other, but were employed to cover the causeways on each side, and keep off the canoes, when they attempted to annoy the troops as they advanced towards the city. Cortes formed the brigantines into three divisions, appointing one to cover each of the stations from which an attack was to be carried on against the city, with orders to second the operations of the officer who commanded there. From all the three stations he pushed on the attack against the city with equal vigour; but in a manner so very different from the conduct of sieges in regular war, that he himself seems afraid it would appear no less improper than singular, to persons unacquainted with his situation. Each morning his troops assaulted the barricades which the enemy had erected on the causeways, forced their way over the trenches which they had dug, and through the canals where the bridges were broken down, and endeavoured to penetrate into the heart of the city, in hopes of obtaining some decisive advantage, which might force the enemy to surrender, and terminate the war at once; but when the obstinate valour of the Mexicans rendered the efforts of the day ineffectual, the Spaniards retired in the evening to their former quarters. Thus their toil and danger were, in some measure, continually renewed; the Mexicans

repairing in the night what the Spaniards had destroyed through the day, and recovering the posts from which they had driven them. But necessity prescribed this slow and untoward mode of operation. The number of his troops was so small, that Cortes durst not, with a handful of men, attempt to make a lodgment in a city where he might be surrounded and annoyed by such a multitude of enemies. The remembrance of what he had already suffered by the ill-judged confidence with which he had ventured into such a dangerous situation, was still fresh in his mind. The Spaniards, exhausted with fatigue, were unable to guard the various posts which they daily gained; and though their camp was filled with Indian auxiliaries, they durst not devolve this charge upon them, because they were so little accustomed to discipline, that no confidence could be placed in their vigilance. Besides this, Cortes was extremely desirous to preserve the city as much as possible from being destroyed, both because he destined it to be the capital of his conquests, and wished that it might remain as a monument of his glory. From all these considerations, he adhered obstinately, for a month after the siege was opened, to the system which he had adopted. The Mexicans, in their own defence, displayed valour which was hardly inferior to that with which the Spaniards attacked them. On the land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict succeeded another. Several Spaniards were killed, more wounded, and all were ready to sink under the toils of unintermitting service, which were rendered more intolerable by the injuries of the season, the periodical rains being now set in with their usual violence.

Astonished and disconcerted with the length and difficulties of the siege, Cortes determined to make one great effort to get possession of the city, before he relinquished the plan which he had hitherto followed, and had recourse to any other mode of attack. With this view, he sent instructions to Alvarado and Sandoval to advance with their divisions to a general assault, and took the command in person (July 3) of that posted on the causeway of Cuyocan. Animated by his presence, and the expectation of some decisive event, the Spaniards

pushed forward with irresistible impetuosity. They broke through one barricade after another, forced their way over the ditches and canals, and having entered the city, gained ground incessantly, in spite of the multitude and ferocity of their opponents. Cortes, though delighted with the rapidity of his progress, did not forget that he might still find it necessary to retreat; and in order to secure it, appointed Julian de Alderete, a captain of chief note in the troops which he had received from Hispaniola, to fill up the canals and gaps in the causeway as the main body advanced. That officer, deeming it inglorious to be thus employed, while his companions were in the heat of action and the career of victory, neglected the important charge committed to him, and hurried on, inconsiderately, to mingle with the combatants. The Mexicans, whose military attention and skill were daily improving, no sooner observed this, than they carried an account of it to their monarch.

Guatimozin instantly discerned the consequence of the error which the Spaniards had committed, and, with admirable presence of mind, prepared to take advantage of it. He commanded the troops posted in the front to slacken their efforts, in order to allure the Spaniards to push forward, while he dispatched a large body of chosen warriors through different streets, some by land, and others by water, towards the great breach in the causeway, which had been left open. On a signal which he gave, the priests in the principal temple struck the great drum consecrated to the god of war. No sooner did the Mexicans hear its doleful solemn sound, calculated to inspire them with contempt of death and enthusiastic ardour, than they rushed upon the enemy with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to resist men urged on no less by religious fury than hopes of success, began to retire, at first leisurely, and with a good countenance; but as the enemy pressed on, and their own impatience to escape increased, the terror and confusion became so general, that when they arrived at the gap in the causeway, Spaniards and Tlascalans, horsemen and infantry, plunged in promiscuously, while the Mexicans rushed upon them fiercely on every side, their light

canoes carrying them through shoals which the brigantines could not approach. In vain did Cortes attempt to stop and rally his flying troops, fear rendered them regardless of his entreaties or commands. Finding all his endeavours to renew the combat fruitless, his next care was to save some of those who had thrown themselves into the water; but while thus employed, with more attention to their situation than his own, six Mexican captains suddenly laid hold of him, and were hurrying him off in triumph; and though two of his officers rescued him at the expence of their own lives, he received several dangerous wounds before he could break loose. About 60 Spaniards perished in the rout; and what rendered the disaster more afflicting, 40 of these fell alive into the hand of an enemy never known to shew mercy to a captive.

The approach of night, though it delivered the dejected Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, ushered in, what was hardly less grievous, the noise of their barbarous triumph, and of the horrid festival with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illuminated; the great temple shone with such peculiar splendour, that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy in hastening the preparations for the death of the prisoners. Through the gloom, they fancied that they discerned their companions by the whiteness of their skins, as they were stript naked and compelled to dance before the image of the god to whom they were to be offered. They heard the shrieks of those who were sacrificed, and thought that they could distinguish each unhappy victim, by the well-known sound of his voice. Imagination added to what they really saw or heard, and augmented its horror. The most unfeeling melted into tears of compassion, and the stoutest heart trembled at the dreadful spectacle which they beheld.

Cortes, who, besides all that he felt in common with his soldiers, was oppressed with the additional load of anxious reflections natural to a general on such an unexpected calamity, could not, like them, relieve his mind by giving vent to its anguish. He was obliged to assume an air of tranquillity, in order to revive the spirit and hopes of his followers. The

juncture, indeed, required an extraordinary exertion of fortitude. The Mexicans, elated with their victory, sallied out next morning to attack him in his quarters. But they did not rely on the efforts of their own arms alone. They sent the heads of the Spaniards whom they had sacrificed, to the leading men of the adjacent provinces, and assured them that the god of war, appeased by the blood of their invaders, had declared with an audible voice, that in eight days time those hated enemies should be finally destroyed, and peace and prosperity re-established in the empire.

A prediction uttered with such confidence, and in terms so void of ambiguity, gained universal credit among a people prone to superstition. The zeal of the provinces, which had already declared against the Spaniards, augmented; and several, which had hitherto remained inactive, took arms, with enthusiastic ardour, to execute the decree of the gods. The Indian auxiliaries, who had joined Cortes, accustomed to venerate the same deities with the Mexicans, and to receive the responses of their priests with the same implicit faith, abandoned the Spaniards as a race of men devoted to certain destruction. Even the fidelity of the Tlascalans was shaken, and the Spanish troops were left almost alone in their stations. Cortes, finding that he attempted in vain to dispel the superstitious fears of his confederates by argument, took advantage, from the imprudence of those who had framed the prophecy, in fixing its accomplishment so near at hand, to give a striking demonstration of its falsity. He suspended all military operations during the period marked out by the oracle. Under cover of the brigantines, which kept the enemy at a distance, his troops lay in safety, and the fatal term expired without any disaster.

Many of his allies, ashamed of their own credulity, returned to their stations. Other tribes, judging that the gods who had now deceived the Mexicans, had decreed finally to withdraw their protection from them, joined his standard; and such was the levity of a simple people, moved by every slight impression, that in a short time after such a general defection of his confederates, Cortes saw himself, if we may believe his

own account, at the head of 150,000 Indians. Even with such a numerous army, he found it necessary to adopt a new and more wary system of operation. Instead of renewing his attempts to become master of the city at once, by such bold but dangerous efforts of valour as he had already tried, he made his advances gradually, and with every possible precaution against exposing his men to any calamity similar to that which they still bewailed. As the Spaniards pushed forward, the Indians regularly repaired the causeways behind them. As soon as they got possession of any part of the town, the houses were instantly levelled with the ground. Day by day, the Mexicans, forced to retire as their enemies gained ground, were hemmed in within more narrow limits. Guatimozin, though unable to stop the career of the enemy, continued to defend his capital with obstinate resolution, and disputed every inch of ground. The Spaniards not only varied their mode of attack, but, by orders of Cortes, changed the weapons with which they fought. They were again armed with the long Chinantlan spears, which they had used with such success against Narvaez; and, by the firm array in which this enabled them to range themselves, they repelled, with little danger, the loose assault of the Mexicans: incredible numbers of them fell in the conflicts which they renewed every day. While war wasted without, famine began to consume them in the city. The Spanish brigantines, having the entire command of the lake, rendered it almost impossible to convey to the besieged any supply of provisions by water. The immense number of his Indian auxiliaries enabled Cortes to shut up the avenues of the city by land. The stores which Guatimozin had laid up were exhausted, by the multitudes which had crowded into the capital, to defend their sovereign and the temples of their gods. Not only the people, but persons of the highest rank, felt the utmost distresses of famine. What they suffered brought on infectious and mortal distempers, the last calamity that visits besieged cities, and which filled up the measure of their woes.

But, under the pressure of so many and such various evils, the spirit of Guatimozin remained firm and unsubdued. He

rejected, with scorn, every overture of peace from Cortes; and disdaining the idea of submitting to the oppressors of his country, determined not to survive its ruin. The Spaniards continued their progress. At length all the three divisions penetrated into the great square in the centre of the city, and made a secure lodgment there [July 27]. Three-fourths of the city were now reduced, and laid in ruins. The remaining quarter was so closely pressed, that it could not long withstand assailants, who attacked it from their new station with superior advantage, and more assured expectation of success. The Mexican nobles, solicitous to save the life of a monarch whom they revered, prevailed on Guatimozin to retire from a place where resistance was now vain, that he might rouse the more distant provinces of the empire to arms, and maintain there a more successful struggle with the public enemy. In order to facilitate the execution of this measure, they endeavoured to amuse Cortes with overtures of submission, that, while his attention was employed in adjusting the articles of pacification, Guatimozin might escape unperceived. But they made this attempt upon a leader of greater sagacity and discernment than to be deceived by their arts. Cortes, suspecting their intention, and aware of what moment it was to defeat it, appointed Sandoval, the officer on whose vigilance he could most perfectly rely, to take the command of the brigantines, with strict injunctions to watch every motion of the enemy. Sandoval, attentive to the charge, observing some large canoes crowded with people rowing across the lake with extraordinary rapidity, instantly gave the signal to chase. Garcia Holguin, who commanded the swiftest sailing brigantine, soon overtook them, and was preparing to fire on the foremost canoe, which seemed to carry some person whom all the rest followed and obeyed. At once the rowers dropt their oars, and all on board, throwing down their arms, conjured him with cries and tears to forbear, as the emperor was there. Holguin eagerly seized his prize, and Guatimozin, with a dignified composure, gave himself up into his hands, requesting only that no insult might be offered to the empress or his children.

When conducted to Cortes, he appeared neither with the sullen fierceness of a barbarian, nor with the dejection of a suppliant. 'I have done,' said he, addressing himself to the Spanish general, 'what became a monarch.' I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger,' laying his hand on one which Cortes wore, 'plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of use.'

As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased; and Cortes took possession of that small part of the capital [August 13] which yet remained undestroyed. Thus terminated the siege of Mexico, the most memorable event in the conquest of America. It continued 75 days, hardly one of which passed without some extraordinary effort of one party in the attack, or of the other in the defence of a city, on the fate of which both knew that the fortune of the empire depended. As the struggle here was more obstinate, it was likewise more equal, than any between the inhabitants of the Old and New Worlds.

The exultation of the Spaniards, on accomplishing this arduous enterprise, was at first excessive. But this was quickly damped by the cruel disappointment of those sanguine hopes, which had animated them amidst so many hardships and dangers. Instead of the inexhaustible wealth which they expected from becoming masters of Montezuma's treasures, and the ornaments of so many temples, their rapaciousness could collect only an inconsiderable booty amidst ruins and desolation. Guatimozin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered what remained of the riches amassed by his ancestors to be thrown into the lake. The Indian auxiliaries, while the Spaniards were engaged in conflict with the enemy, had carried off the most valuable part of the spoil. The sum to be divided among the conquerors was so small, that many of them disdained to accept of the pittance which fell to their share, and all murmured and exclaimed; some, against Cortes and his confidants, whom they suspected of having secretly appropriated to their own use a large portion of the riches which should

have been brought into the common stock; others, against Guatimozin, whom they accused of obstinacy, in refusing to discover the place where he had hidden his treasure.

Arguments, intreaties, and promises, were employed in order to soothe them, but with so little effect, that Cortes, from solicitude to check this growing spirit of discontent, gave way to a deed which stains the glory of all his great actions. Without regarding the former dignity of Guatimozin, or feeling any reverence for those virtues which he had displayed, he subjected the unhappy monarch, together with his chief favourite, to torture, in order to force from them a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed they had concealed. Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict, with the invincible fortitude of an American warrior. His fellow-sufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguish, turned a dejected eye towards his master, which seemed to implore his permission to reveal all that he knew. But the high-spirited prince, darting on him a look of authority mingled with scorn, checked his weakness by asking, 'Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?' Overawed by the reproach, the favourite persevered in his dutiful silence, and expired. Cortes, ashamed of a scene so horrid, rescued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and prolonged a life reserved for new indignities and sufferings.

The fate of the capital, as both parties had foreseen, decided that of the empire. The provinces submitted one after another to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards, marching through them without interruption, penetrated in different quarters to the great Southern ocean, which, according to the ideas of Columbus, they imagined would open a short as well as easy passage to the East Indies, and secure to the crown of Castile all the envied wealth of those fertile regions; and the active mind of Cortes began already to form schemes for attempting this important discovery, which were afterwards completed by Ferdinand Magalhaen, or Magellan.

While Cortes was acquiring such vast territories for his native country, and preparing the way for future conquests, he was regarded as an undutiful and rebellious subject; his

conduct in assuming the government of New Spain, was declared to be an irregular usurpation, in contempt of royal authority, and a commission was issued for suspending him, seizing his person, confiscating his effects, making a strict scrutiny into his proceedings, and transmitting the result to the council of the Indies, of which Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, was president. Cortes took secret measures for defeating the effect of this commission; and in May, 1522, dispatched deputies to Spain, with a pompous account of the success of his arms, further specimens of the productions of the country, and rich presents to the emperor, as earnest of future contributions from his new conquests; requesting, in recompence for his services, the approbation of his proceedings, and that he might be entrusted with the government of those territories, which his conduct, and the valour of his followers, had added to the crown of Castile. The public voice declared warmly in favour of his pretensions, and he was appointed by the emperor Charles V. captain-general and governor of New Spain; in consequence of which appointment, he endeavoured by new schemes and arrangements to render his conquest a secure and beneficial acquisition to his country. The emperor at the same time appointed certain commissioners to receive and administer the royal revenue there, with independent jurisdiction. These commissioners sent home unfavourable accounts of the character and conduct of Cortes, which made such an impression on the Spanish ministers, and by their means on the mind of their master, that a new commission was granted, with powers to investigate the truth of these allegations, to seize the person of Cortes, if that measure should be found expedient, and to send their prisoner to Spain. The execution of this commission was prevented by the death of Ponce de Leon, with whom it was entrusted, and Cortes, though deeply wounded with this return for his services, endeavoured to maintain this station, and to recover the confidence of the court. The apprehensions of Charles and his ministers increased; and in 1528, a new commission of inquiry was issued, with more extensive powers. Cortes was extremely indignant; but instead of asserting his own rights against his ungrateful

countrymen, and with a bold hand seizing that power which the courtiers meanly accused him of coveting, as some of his desperate followers advised, he repaired directly to Castile, and committed himself and his cause to the justice and generosity of his sovereign. Here he was received in the most respectful manner, and the order of St. Jago, the title of marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, and the grant of a vast territory in New Spain, were successively bestowed upon him; and as his manners were correct and elegant, the emperor admitted him to the same familiar intercourse with himself that was enjoyed by noblemen of the first rank. Cortes, however, though dignified by new titles, returned to Mexico in 1530, with diminished authority. The military department, with powers to attempt new discoveries, was left in his hands; but the supreme direction of civil affairs was placed in a board called *The Audience of New Spain*; and at a subsequent period, a nobleman of high rank was sent thither as viceroy, to take the government into his own hands.

The division of power in New Spain became the source of perpetual dissension, which embittered the life of Cortes, and thwarted all his schemes. Nevertheless, he projected new discoveries, and formed various schemes for that purpose. Having entrusted the execution of some of his plans to others, who were unsuccessful, he determined, in 1536, to undertake in person the conduct of an armament, with which, after enduring incredible hardships, and encountering various dangers, he discovered the large peninsula of California, and surveyed the greatest part of the gulf which separates it from New Spain. Dissatisfied and disgusted, on a variety of accounts, he once more sought redress in his native country. Accordingly he returned thither in 1540; but his reception was very different from that which gratitude, and even decency, ought to have secured for him. As no farther services could be expected from him in his declining years, he was treated sometimes with neglect, sometimes with insolence. After several years his grievances received no redress, and his claims were ineffectually urged, although from time to time he renewed his application to ministers and judges, an occupation the

most irksome and mortifying to a man of high spirit, who had moved in a sphere where he was more accustomed to command than to solicit, till at length, broken down by age, and the vexation of disappointment, he ended his days on the 2d of December, 1547, in the 62d year of his age. Envied by his contemporaries, and ill requited by the court which he served, he has been admired and celebrated by succeeding ages. Which has formed the most just estimate of his character, an impartial consideration of his actions must determine.

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BY
FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

FROM the time that Nugnez de Balboa discovered the great Southern ocean, and received the first obscure hints concerning the opulent countries with which it might open a communication, the wishes and schemes of every enterprising person in the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned towards the wealth of those unknown regions. Accordingly, several armaments were fitted out in order to explore and take possession of the countries to the east of Panama, but under the conduct of leaders whose talents and resources were unequal to the attempt. As the excursions of those adventurers did not extend beyond the limits of the province to which the Spaniards have given the name of Tierra Firmè, a mountainous region covered with woods, thinly inhabited, and extremely unhealthy, they returned with dismal accounts concerning the distresses to which they had been exposed, and the unpromising aspect of the places which they had visited.

But there were three persons settled in Panama on whom the circumstances which deterred others made so little impression, that at the very moment when all considered Balboa's expectations of discovering a rich country, by steering towards the east, as chimerical, they resolved to attempt the execution

of his schemes. The names of those extraordinary men were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. PIZARRO was the natural son of a gentleman of an honourable family by a very low woman, and, according to the cruel fate which often attends the offspring of unlawful love, had been so totally neglected in his youth by the author of his birth, that he seems to have destined him never to rise beyond the condition of his mother. In consequence of this ungenerous design, he set him, when bordering on manhood, to keep hogs. But the aspiring mind of young Pizarro disdaining that ignoble occupation, he abruptly abandoned his charge, enlisted as a soldier, and, after serving some years in Italy, embarked for America, which, by opening such a boundless range to active talents, allured every adventurer whose fortune was not equal to his ambitious thoughts. ALMAGRO had as little cause to boast of his descent as Pizarro. The one was a bastard, the other a foundling. Bred, like his companion, in the camp, he yielded not to him in any of the soldierly qualities of intrepid valour, indefatigable activity, or insurmountable constancy in enduring the hardships inseparable from military service in the New World. HERNANDO DE LUQUE was an ecclesiastic, who acted both as priest and schoolmaster at Panama, and, by means which the contemporary writers have not described, had amassed riches that inspired him with thoughts of rising to greater eminence.

Such were the men destined to overturn one of the most extensive empires on the face of the earth. Their confederacy for this purpose was authorised by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama. Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, the least wealthy of the three, as he could not throw so large a sum as his associates into the common stock, engaged to take the department of greatest fatigue and danger, and to command in person the armament which was to go first upon discovery. Almagro offered to conduct the supplies of provisions and reinforcements of troops, of which Pizarro might stand in need. Luque was to remain at Panama to negotiate with the governor, and superintend whatever was carrying on for the general interest.

The attempt was begun with a force more suited to the humble condition of the three associates, than to the greatness of the enterprise in which they were engaged. Pizarro set sail from Panama on the 14th of November, 1524, with a single vessel, of small burden, and 112 men. After beating about for 70 days, with much danger and incessant fatigue, Pizarro's progress towards the south-east was not greater than what a skilful navigator will now make in as many hours. He touched at several places on the coast of Tierra Firmè, but found every where the same uninviting country which former adventurers had described; the low grounds converted into swamps by an overflowing of rivers; the higher, covered with impervious woods; few inhabitants, and those fierce and hostile. Famine, fatigue, frequent rencounters with the natives, and, above all, the distempers of a moist, sultry climate, combined in wasting his slender band of followers. The undaunted resolution of their leader continued, however, for some time, to sustain their spirits, although no sign had yet appeared of discovering those golden regions to which he had promised to conduct them. At length he was obliged to abandon that inhospitable coast, and retire to Chuchama, opposite to the pearl islands, where he hoped to receive a supply of provisions and troops from Panama.

But Almagro having sailed from that port with 70 men, stood directly towards that part of the continent where he hoped to meet with his associate. Not finding him there, he landed his soldiers, who, in searching for their companions, underwent the same distresses, and were exposed to the same danger, which had driven them out of the country. Repulsed at length by the Indians in a sharp conflict, in which their leader lost one of his eyes by the wound of an arrow, they likewise were compelled to reembark. Chance led them to the place of Pizarro's retreat, where they found some consolation in recounting to each other their adventures, and comparing their sufferings.

In 1526 Almagro repaired to Panama, in hopes of recruiting their shattered troops. But what he and Pizarro had suffered, gave his countrymen such an unfavourable idea of the

service, that it was with difficulty he could levy fourscore men. Feeble as this reinforcement was, Almagro took the command of it, and having joined Pizarro, they did not hesitate about resuming their operations. After a long series of disasters and disappointments, not inferior to those which they had already experienced, part of the armament reached the bay of St. Matthew, on the coast of Quito, and landing at Tacamez, to the south of the river of Emeralds, they beheld a country more champaign and fertile than any they had yet discovered in the Southern ocean, the natives clad in garments of woollen or cotton stuff, and adorned with several trinkets of gold and silver.

But, notwithstanding those favourable appearances, magnified beyond the truth, both by the vanity of the persons who brought the report from Tacamez, and by the fond imagination of those who listened to them, Pizarro and Almagro durst not venture to invade a country so populous with a handful of men enfeebled by fatigue and diseases. They retired to the small island of Gallo, where Pizarro remained with part of the troops, and his associate returned to Panama, in hopes of bringing such a reinforcement as might enable them to take possession of the opulent territories, whose existence seemed to be no longer doubtful.

But some of the adventurers, less enterprising, or less hardy, than their leaders, having secretly conveyed lamentable accounts of their sufferings and losses to their friends at Panama, Almagro met with an unfavourable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had succeeded Pedraias in the government of that settlement. After weighing the matter with that cold economical prudence which appears the first of all virtues to persons whose limited faculties are incapable of conceiving or executing of great designs, he concluded an expedition, attended with such certain waste of men, to be so detrimental to an infant and feeble colony, that he not only prohibited the raising of new levies, but dispatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo. Almagro and Luque, though deeply affected with these measures which they could not prevent, and durst not oppose, found

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means of communicating their sentiments privately to Pizarro, and exhorted him not to relinquish an enterprise that was the foundation of all their hopes, and the only means of re-establishing their reputation and fortune, which were both on the decline. Pizarro's mind, bent with inflexible obstinacy on all its purposes, needed no incentive to persist in the scheme. He peremptorily refused to obey the governor of Panama's orders, and employed all his address and eloquence in persuading his men not to abandon him. But the incredible calamities to which they had been exposed were still so recent in their memories, and the thoughts of revisiting their families and friends after a long absence rushed with such joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the sand with his sword, permitting such as wished to return home to pass over it, only thirteen of all the daring veterans in his service had resolution to remain with their commander.

This small, but determined band, whose names the Spanish historians record with deserved praise, as the persons to whose persevering fortitude their country is indebted for the most valuable of all its American possessions, fixed their residence in the island of Gorgona. This, as it was farther removed from the coast than Gallo, and uninhabited, they considered as a more secure retreat, where, unmolested, they might wait for supplies from Panama, which they trusted that the activity of their associates would be able to procure. Almagro and Luque were not inattentive or cold solicitors, and their incessant importunity was seconded by the general voice of the colony, which exclaimed loudly against the infamy of exposing brave men, engaged in the public service, and charged with no error but what flowed from an excess of zeal and courage, to perish like the most odious criminals in a desert island. Overcome by those entreaties and expostulations, the governor at last consented to send a small vessel to their relief. But that he might not seem to encourage Pizarro to any new enterprise, he would not permit one landman to embark on board of it.

By this time, Pizarro and his companions had remained five months in an island, infamous for the most unhealthy climate

in that region of America. During all this period, their eyes were turned towards Panama, in hopes of succour from their countrymen; but worn out at length by fruitless expectations, and dispirited with suffering hardships of which they saw no end, they, in despair, came to a resolution of committing themselves to the ocean on a float, rather than continue in that detestable abode. But, on the arrival of the vessel from Panama, they were transported with such joy, that all their sufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived, and, with a rapid transition, not unnatural among men accustomed by their mode of life to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, high confidence succeeding to extreme dejection, Pizarro easily induced not only his own followers, but the crew of the vessel from Panama, to resume his former scheme with fresh ardour. Instead of returning to Panama, they stood towards the south-east, and more fortunate in this than in any of their past efforts, they, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, discovered the coast of Peru. After touching at several villages near the shore, which they found to be no wise inviting, they landed at Tumbez, a place of some note, about three degrees south of the line, distinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the *Incas* or sovereigns of the country. There the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country fully peopled, and cultivated with an appearance of regular industry; the natives decently clothed, and possessed of ingenuity so far surpassing the other inhabitants of the New World, as to have the use of tame domestic animals. But what chiefly attracted their notice, was such a show of gold and silver, not only in the ornaments of their persons and temples, but in several vessels and utensils for common use, formed of those precious metals, as left no room to doubt that they abounded with profusion in the country. Pizarro and his companions seemed now to have attained to the completion of their most sanguine hopes, and fancied that all their wishes and dreams of rich domains, and inexhaustible treasures, would soon be realized.

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But with the slender force then under his command, Pizarro could only view the rich country of which he hoped hereafter to obtain possession. He ranged, however, for some time along the coast, maintaining every where a peaceable intercourse with the natives, no less astonished at their new visitants, than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld. In the following year, having explored the country as far as was requisite to ascertain the importance of the discovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants some of their *llamas* or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of sheep, some vessels of gold and silver, as well as some specimens of their other works of ingenuity, and two young men, whom he proposed to instruct in the Castilian language, that they might serve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated. With these he arrived at Panama, towards the close of the third year from the time of his departure thence.

Notwithstanding the splendid relation that Pizarro gave of the opulence of the country which he had discovered, the governor of Panama refused to lend them any further aid. This, however, did not damp the ardour of the three associates, and it was resolved that Pizarro should repair to Spain. On his arrival he lost no time in going to court, where he conducted his negotiations with such an insinuating dexterity of address, as could not have been expected either from his education or former habits of life. His feeling description of his own sufferings, and his pompous account of the country which he had discovered, confirmed by the specimens of its productions which he exhibited, made such impression both on Charles and his ministers, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but seemed to be interested in the success of its leader. Presuming on those dispositions in his favour, Pizarro paid little attention to the interests of his associates. As the pretensions of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the ecclesiastical dignity to which he aspired. For Almagro, he claimed only the command of the fortress which should be erected at Tumbez. To himself he secured whatever his boundless ambition could desire. He

was appointed governor, captain-general, and adelantado of all the country which he had discovered, and hoped to conquer, with supreme authority, civil as well as military; and with full right to all the privileges and emoluments usually granted to adventurers in the New World. His jurisdiction was declared to extend 200 leagues along the coast to the south of the river St. Jago; to be independent of the governor of Panama; and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to serve under him. In return for those concessions, which cost the court of Spain nothing, as the enjoyment of them depended upon the success of Pizarro's own efforts, he engaged to raise 250 men, and to provide the ships, arms, and warlike stores requisite towards subjecting to the crown of Castile, the country of which the government was allotted him.

Inconsiderable as the body of men was which Pizarro had undertaken to raise, his funds and credit were so low that he could hardly complete half the number; and after obtaining his patents from the crown, he was obliged to steal privately out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the scrutiny of the officers who had it in charge to examine, whether he had fulfilled the stipulations in his contract. He landed at Nombre de Dios, and marched across the isthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo. They were all in the prime of life, and of such abilities and courage, as fitted them to take a distinguished part in his subsequent transactions.

On his arrival at Panama, 1530, Pizarro found Almagro so much exasperated at the manner in which he had conducted his negociation, that he not only refused to act any longer in concert with a man, by whose perfidy he had been excluded from the power and honours to which he had a just claim, but laboured to form a new association, in order to thwart or to rival his former confederate in his discoveries. Pizarro, however, had more wisdom and address than to suffer a rupture, so fatal to all his schemes, to become irreparable; a reconciliation was effected; and the confederacy renewed on its original terms, that the enterprise should be carried on at the common

expence of the associates, and the profits accruing from it should be equally divided among them.

Even after their reunion, and the utmost efforts of their interest, three small vessels, with 180 soldiers, 36 of whom were horsemen, composed the armament which they were able to fit out. But the astonishing progress of the Spaniards in America had inspired them with such ideas of their own superiority, that Pizarro did not hesitate to sail with this contemptible force to invade a great empire. [1531, Feb.] Almagro was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him with what reinforcement of men he should be able to muster. As the season for embarking was properly chosen, and the course of navigation between Panama and Peru was now better known, Pizarro completed the voyage in 13 days; though, by the force of the winds and currents, he was carried above 100 leagues to the north of Tumbez, the place of his destination, and obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. Without losing a moment, he began to march towards the south, taking care, however, not to depart far from the seashore, both that he might easily effect a junction with the supplies which he expected from Panama, and secure a retreat in case of any disaster, by keeping as near as possible to his ships. But as the country in several parts of the coast of Peru is barren, unhealthy, and thinly peopled; as the Spaniards had to pass all the rivers near their mouths, where the body of water is the greatest; and as the imprudence of Pizarro, in attacking the natives when he should have studied to gain their confidence, had forced them to abandon their habitations; famine, fatigue, and diseases of various kinds, brought upon him and his followers calamities hardly inferior to those which they had endured in their former expedition. What they now experienced corresponded so ill with the alluring description of the country given by Pizarro, that many began to reproach him, and every soldier must have become cold to the service, if even, in this unfertile region of Peru, they had not met with some appearance of wealth and cultivation which seemed to justify the report of their leader. At length they reached the province of Coaque; [April 14] and, having sur-

prised the principal settlement of the natives, they seized their vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, to the amount of 30,000 pesos, with other booty of such value, as dispelled all their doubts, and inspired the most desponding with sanguine hopes.

Pizarro himself was so much delighted with this rich spoil, which he considered as the first-fruits of a land abounding with treasure, that he instantly dispatched one of his ships to Panama with a large remittance to Almagro; and another to Nicaragua with a considerable sum to several persons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers, by this early display of the wealth which he had acquired. Meanwhile, he continued his march along the coast, and disdaining to employ any means of reducing the natives but force, he attacked them with such violence in their scattered habitations, as compelled them either to retire into the interior country, or to submit to his yoke. This sudden appearance of invaders, whose aspect and manners were so strange, and whose power seemed to be so irresistible, made the same dreadful impression as in other parts of America. Pizarro hardly met with resistance until he attacked the island of Puna in the bay of Guayaquil. As that was better peopled than the country through which he had passed, and its inhabitants fiercer and less civilized than those of the continent, they defended themselves with such obstinate valour, that Pizarro spent six months in reducing them to subjection. From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where the distempers which raged among his men compelled him to remain for three months.

While he was thus employed, he began to reap advantage from his attention, to spread the fame of his first success at Coaque. Two different detachments arrived from Nicaragua, [1532] which, though neither exceeded 30 men, he considered as a reinforcement of great consequence to his feeble band, especially as the one was under the command of Sebastian Benalzar, and the other of Hernando Soto, officers not inferior in merit and reputation to any who had served in America. From Tumbez he proceeded to the river Piura, and in an advantageous station near the mouth of it, he established

the first Spanish colony in Peru ; to which he gave the name of St. Michael.

The original founder of the Peruvian empire was Mango Capac, a man who, gifted with powers beyond the level of his kind, and calm and dispassionate himself, by nicely discriminating the passions of his fellow creatures, was able to work upon them with effect, and turn them to his own profit and glory. He observed that the people of Peru were naturally addicted to superstition ; and that they had a peculiar veneration for the orb of day. He pretended therefore to be descended from that glorious luminary, whose worship he was sent to establish, and whose authority he was entitled to exercise. By this romantic fiction, which was extremely well adapted to the prejudices of those on whom he intended to impose, he easily duped a credulous people ; and by this artifice alone, brought a considerable extent of territory under his jurisdiction. The foundation of his empire being thus laid on superstition, he extended his dominions still farther by arms. But, to his honour be it recorded that, whether he employed fraud or force, it was with a view of promoting happiness, and fixing its influence. He united and civilized the roving and barbarous tribes ; he bent them to laws, and inured them to arms ; he softened them by the institution of a benevolent religion ; and in proportion as he exalted their spirit by patriotism, he subdued their hearts by the effect of principle. In no part of America had agriculture and the arts made such remarkable progress, or men advanced so far in the refinements that embellish life.

A race of princes succeeded Mango, distinguished by the title of *Incas*, and revered by their subjects as the undoubted descendants of their great god, the sun. The twelfth of these now filled the throne, who was named Atabalipa. His father Guaiana Capac had extended his hereditary dominions by the addition of the province of Quito, which now constitutes a part of Spanish Peru. To secure himself in the possession of this conquest, he had married the daughter of the legitimate prince of that country ; and of this marriage was sprung the reigning emperor. His elder brother, Huescar, by a different mother,

had claimed the succession to the whole of his paternal dominions, not excepting Quito, which devolved on Atabalipa by a double connection. A civil war had been kindled on this account; which, after various turns of fortune, and greatly weakening the empire, terminated in favour of the younger brother; who now detained Huescar a prisoner in the tower of Cusco, the capital of the Peruvian empire.

Thus the seeds of anarchy were engendered; and the cause of dissolution had begun to operate, before the arrival of Pizarro. In this feeble and disjointed state of the empire, the ominous predictions of religion joined their force to human calamities. Prophecies were recorded, and dreams were recollected, which foretold the subjugation of the empire by persons unknown, whose description was supposed to correspond with that of the Spaniards. In particular, they had an old tradition, which had been universally received, that the elder son of one of their Incas, in ancient days, had seen a strange kind of phantom, who called himself Virachoca, or offspring of the sun. His dress and appearance were entirely different from those of the Peruvians; his beard was long, his garments flowed down to his feet, and in his hand he held an animal absolutely unknown to the young prince. This fable was so firmly believed, and so deeply rooted in the minds of the Peruvians, that they no sooner saw a Spaniard with a beard, his legs covered, and holding his horse by the bridle, than they exclaimed, 'See there is the Inca Virachoca,' or the son of the sun.

Pizarro now directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of twelve days' march from St. Michael, where Atabalipa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer dispatched by the Inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and assurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atabalipa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne.

As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atabalipa renewed his professions of friendship; and as an evidence of his sincerity, sent them presents of greater value than the former; and promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects approached his person and obeyed his commands, astonished those Spaniards, who had never met in America with any thing more dignified than the petty cazique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still more powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence than an European of the sixteenth century could form.

While their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken; knowing of what consequence it was to have the Inca in his power. For this purpose, he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character that he had assumed of an ambassador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the Inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendship and assistance, he determined to avail himself of the unsuspecting simplicity with which Atabalipa relied on his professions, and to seize the person of the Inca during the interview to which he had invited him.

Early in the morning, the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atabalipa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were so tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly, that the Spaniards became impatient,

and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro dispatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the Inca approached. First of all, appeared 400 men, in an uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than 30,000 men.

As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicegerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by the succession to the popes, the donation made to the king of Castile by pope Alexander of all the regions in the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atabalipa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope, and to submit to the king of Castile as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted with the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the Inca, that

its general tenor was altogether incomprehensible to Atabalipa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that, if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forsake the service of the sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand the meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. 'In this book,' replied Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: 'This,' says he, 'is silent; it tells me nothing;' and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, 'To arms, Christians, to arms; the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs.'

Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horses sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effect of the fire-arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of his chosen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they

vied with one another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro seizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above 4000 Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the Inca.

The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru, and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

At first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, laboured to console him with professions of kindness and respect, that corresponded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the Inca discovered their ruling passion, which, indeed, they were nowise solicitous to conceal, and by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, ever after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was 22 feet in length, and 16 in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

Atabalipa, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in the largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of the gods, or the houses of the Inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca. Though Atabalipa was now in the custody of his enemies, yet so much were the Peruvians accustomed to respect every mandate issued by their sovereign, that his orders were executed with the greatest alacrity. The Spaniards remained at Caxamalca tranquil and unmolested. Small detachments of their number marched into remote provinces of the empire, and, instead of meeting with any opposition, were every where received with marks of the most submissive respect.

Inconsiderable as those parties were, and desirous as Pizarro might be to obtain some knowledge of the interior state of the country, he could not have ventured upon any diminution of his main body, if he had not about this time received an account of Almagro's having landed at St. Michael with such a reinforcement as would almost double the number of his followers. The arrival of this long-expected succour was not more agreeable to the Spaniards, than alarming to the Inca. He saw the power of his enemies increase; and as he knew neither the source whence they derived their supplies, nor the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foresee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might rise. [1533] While disquieted with such apprehensions, he learned that some Spaniards, in their way to Cuzco, had visited his brother Huescar in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had represented to them the justice of his own cause, and as an inducement to espouse it, had promised them a quantity of treasure greatly beyond that which Atabalipa had engaged to pay for his ransom. If the Spaniards should listen to this proposal, Atabalipa had perceived his own destruction to be inevitable; and suspecting that their insatiable thirst for gold would tempt them to lend a favourable ear to it, he determined

to sacrifice his brother's life, that he might save his own; and his orders for this purpose were executed, like all his other commands, with scrupulous punctuality.

Meanwhile Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca from different parts of the kingdom, loaded with treasure. A great part of the stipulated quantity was now amassed, and Atabalipa assured the Spaniards, that the only thing which prevented the whole from being brought in, was the remoteness of the provinces where it was deposited. But such vast piles of gold presented continually to the view of needy soldiers, had so inflamed their avarice, that it was impossible any longer to restrain their impatience to obtain possession of this rich booty. Orders were given for melting down the whole, except some pieces of curious fabric, reserved as a present for the emperor. After setting apart the fifth due to the crown, and 100,000 pesos as a donative to the soldiers which arrived with Almagro, there remained 1,528,500 pesos to Pizarro and his followers.*

The Spaniards, having divided among them the treasure amassed for the Inca's ransom, he insisted with them to fulfil their promise of setting him at liberty. But nothing was farther from Pizarro's thoughts; for at the very time when the credulous prince hoped to be replaced on his throne, he had secretly resolved to bereave him of life. This determination was accelerated by the following curious circumstance: among all the European arts that Atabalipa most admired was that of reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himself whether he should regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the soldiers, who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he shewed successively to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazement, they all, without hesitation, returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered; and on presenting it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment, he considered him as a mean person, less

* A peso at that time was of the value of one pound sterling.

instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of a barbarian's scorn, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death.

But in order to give some colour of justice to this violent action, and that he himself might be exempted from standing singly responsible for the commission of it, Pizarro resolved to try the Inca with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts of Spain. Pizarro himself, and Almagro, with two assistants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or to condemn; an attorney-general was named to carry on the prosecution in the king's name; counsellors were chosen to assist the prisoner in his defence; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of the court. Before this strange tribunal, a charge was exhibited still more amazing. It consisted of various articles; that Atabalipa, though a hasty, had dispossessed the rightful owner of the throne, and usurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful sovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted, but commanded the offering of human sacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that since his imprisonment he had wasted and embezzled the royal treasures which now belonged of right to the conquerors; that he had incited his subjects to take arms against the Spaniards. On these heads of accusation, (some of which are so ludicrous, others so absurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the foundation of a serious procedure, is not less surprising than his injustice,) did this strange court go on to try the sovereign of a great empire, over whom it had no jurisdiction. With respect to each of the articles, witnesses were examined; but as they delivered their evidence in their native tongue, Philipillo, one of the Indians whom Pizarro carried off from Tumbes, had it in his power to give their words whatever turn best suited his malevolent intentions. To judges predetermined in their opinion, this evidence appeared sufficient. They pronounced Atabalipa guilty, and condemned

him to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde prostituted the authority of his sacred function to confirm this sentence, and by his signature warranted it to be just. Astonished at his fate, Atabalipa endeavoured to avert it by tears, by promises, and by entreaties, that he might be sent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his lot. But pity never touched the unfeeling heart of Pizarro. He ordered him to be led instantly to execution; and, what added to the bitterness of his last moments, the same monk who had just ratified his doom, offered to console, and attempted to convert him. The most powerful argument Valverde employed to prevail with him to embrace the Christian faith, was a promise of mitigation in his punishment. The dread of a cruel death exerted from the trembling victim a desire of receiving baptism. The rite was performed; and Atabalipa, instead of being burnt, was strangled at the stake.

Upon the death of the Inca, a number of candidates started to fill the vacant throne. The principal nobility sanctioned the pretensions of the full brother of Huescar. Pizarro set up a son of Atabalipa; and two of the Peruvian generals endeavoured to establish themselves by the assistance of the army. These distractions, as might have been supposed, would have facilitated the conquests of Spain, and have been fatal to the interests of Peru. At the present period, however, they had not the effect that might have been expected. The candidates fought against each other with animosity, and inured their partizans to arms. A quiet inoffensive people is unaccustomed to blood; yet such is the preference of national spirit, from whatever cause excited, to a total lethargy, that in the course of these intestine commotions, the inhabitants of Peru assumed some courage against the Spaniards; whom they justly considered as the primary cause of all their calamities.

The losses which the Europeans experienced in these contests were less important in themselves than in their ultimate consequences. They lessened that opinion of invincibility which had been attached to their arms; and which they had been so anxious to keep up and disseminate among the inhabitants of the New World. This consideration induced Pizarro

to conclude a truce; and he employed the interval in laying the foundation of the famous city of Lima, and providing for the permanent establishment of the Spaniards in this country.

Embracing the first favourable opportunity of renewing the war, the Spaniards again took the field; and after surmounting many difficulties and dangers, Pizarro at last made himself master of Cuzco, the capital of the empire. This happened in October, 1532. On entering the city, from which the inhabitants had fled, and carried what was most valuable with them, he still found treasures immense. As it was the custom of the country to bury with their grandees the best part of their riches, the conquerors rifled the sepulchres, and found them as rich as the habitations of the living. The plunder of Cuzco has been computed to equal the sum formerly advanced for the ransom of Atabalipa. Pizarro now invited the inhabitants to return to their dwellings, fearful lest by driving them to desperation, the whole empire might unite against him. The Indians accepted the proposal, and even the Inca made some overtures of accommodation.

While success had so far attended the Spaniards, new grants and levies arrived from the mother country. Pizarro obtained 200 leagues along the sea-coast to the southward of what had been originally granted him; and Almagro 200 leagues to the southward of Pizarro's government. This division occasioned a warm dispute between the two chiefs, each reckoning Cuzco within the limits of his district. But the dexterity of Pizarro effected a reconciliation. He persuaded his rival, that the country which really belonged to him lay to the southward of Cuzco; that it was no way inferior in riches and fertility, and might as easily be conquered as Peru. To enforce this argument, he offered him his assistance in the expedition, the success of which he deemed indisputable.

Almagro, that he might have the honour of subduing a kingdom for himself, listened to the advice; and having united as many of Pizarro's soldiers to his own, as he judged necessary, penetrated with great danger and difficulty into Chili. But danger and difficulty vanish at the prospect of gold. He passed mountains of immense height, and covered with eternal

snow, with the loss of many of his men, and the greatest part of his baggage. These mountains were the Cordilleras. At length he arrived in Copayapu, subject to the Inca of Peru; and in a short time reduced a considerable part of the circumjacent country.

The Peruvians had now gained policy from their intercourse with the Spaniards, and some knowledge of the art of war. This division of the troops of the enemy did not escape their notice. They made an effort to regain their capital, in which, while Pizarro was indisposed and Almagro at a distance, they were well nigh successful. The latter, however, having received intelligence of the siege of Cuzco, immediately abandoned his views of distant conquest, and returned to secure the grand object of their former labours. He soon raised the siege of Cuzco, with an infinite slaughter of the assailants; but having now the merit of obtaining possession of the city, he was unwilling to relinquish it to Pizarro, who was approaching with an army, and knew of no other enemy but the Peruvians.

This bone of contention occasioned a long and bloody struggle between the chiefs and their respective parties, in which the turns of fortune were various, and the resentment fierce on both sides; because the fate of the vanquished was certain destruction. Such at last was the fate of Almagro, who in an advanced age, fell a victim to the security of a rival, in whose dangers and triumphs he had long participated; and with whom, from the beginning of the enterprise, he had been closely connected. During the course of this civil war, many Peruvians served in the Spanish armies, and learned from the practice of Christians to butcher one another with success.

That passive and blinded nation, however, at last opened their eyes, and took a very remarkable resolution. They saw the ferocity of the Europeans, their implacable resentment, their insatiable avarice; and they conjectured, that the exercise of those passions would never suffer the contests to subside. 'Let us retire,' said they, 'from among them; let us fly to our mountains: they will speedily destroy one another, and then we may return in peace to our former habitations.' This

resolution was instantly put in practice. The Peruvians dispersed, and left the Spaniards in their capital. Had the force of the combatants been exactly equal, this singular policy of the natives might have been attended with the expected success. But the victory of Pizarro put an end to Almagro's life and to the hopes of the Peruvians.

Pizarro, now freed from a rival, and master of the richest empire in the world, was still spurred on by ambition to undertake new enterprises. The southern countries into which he had some time before dispatched Almagro, presented the richest field for discovery and conquest. He therefore proceeded in the track of Almagro into Chili, and reduced another part of that country. Orellana, one of his captains, passed the Andes, and sailed down to the mouth of the river of Amazons. On the banks of this immense navigation, some of the women, having attended their husbands into battle, as was not unusual in America, were found among the slain in armour. This gave rise to the fiction of a warlike race of females, resembling the ancient Amazons. The country through which Orellana passed was rich, and delightful in the fruits of the earth; but as it was chiefly champaign, and therefore not plentiful in minerals, the Spaniards disregarded it; and have never yet made any settlements there.

But, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than those through which he had passed. The adherents of Almagro, considering themselves as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interest, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a

graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority, from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Many of them, destitute of common necessities, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty seemed to render their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. 'Be in no pain,' said he carelessly, 'about my life; it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought against it.' This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations, with all the zeal which this connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On Sunday, June 26th, 1541, at mid-day, the season of tranquillity and repose in all sultry climates, Herrada, at the head of 18 of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house in complete armour; and drawing their swords as they advanced hastily towards the governor's palace,

cried out, 'Long live the king, but let the tyrant die!' Their associates, warned of their motions by a signal, were in arms at different stations ready to support them. Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by such a numerous train of attendants as suited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived, yet as he was just risen from table, and most of his domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of a stair-case, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his master, who was conversing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whose steady mind no form of danger could appal, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francisco de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer, who did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the stair-case, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant, and whither they were going. Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. Some of the persons who were there threw themselves from the windows; others attempted to fly; and a few drawing their swords, followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conspirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry, and supported by his half brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal contest with intrepidity worthy of his past exploits, and with the vigour of a youthful combatant. 'Courage!' cried he, 'companions, we are yet enow to make those traitors repent of their audacity!' But the armour of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defenders were mortally wounded. The governor, so weary that he could hardly wield his sword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust full in his throat, sunk to the ground, and expired.

As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran out into the streets, and waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the

tyrant. Above 200 of their associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city, and assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as legal successor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents, were pillaged by the soldiers, who had the satisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themselves by the spoil of those through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had passed.

The partisans of old Almagro now declared his son of the same name viceroy; but the greater part of the nation, though not averse to the conspiracy which took off Pizarro, refused to concur in this determination. They waited the orders of the emperor Charles V. then king of Spain, who sent over Vaca di Castro, a man of the strictest probity, to be their governor. By him the young Almagro was defeated; and being tried and condemned, lost his life, together with the chief supporters of his cause. De Castro, by his wisdom and integrity, was admirably qualified to heal the wounds of the colony, and to place every thing on the most advantageous footing, both for it and for the mother country. By his prudent conduct, the mines of La Plata and Potosi, which had hitherto supplied the private plunderer, were converted into objects of public utility to the court of Spain. The parties, which had agitated the province from the very beginning, were either crushed or silenced; and tranquillity was again restored to Peru.

It appears, however, that de Castro, trusting, perhaps, too much to a conscious integrity, had neglected the usual precautions of guilt, in securing the favour of the ministry by bribes or promises. By their advice, a council was sent out to controul Castro; and the colony was again unsettled. The parties just composed, began to rage anew; and Gonzalo, the brother of the famous Pizarro, set himself at the head of his brother's partisans, with whom many new malecontents had joined interests. It was no longer a private dispute between governors, about the bounds of their jurisdiction. Gonzalo Pizarro paid no more than a nominal submission to the king. He daily accumulated strength and resources; and even went

so far, as to decapitate a governor who had been sent to curb him. He attached to his interest the admiral of the Spanish fleet in the South seas; by whose means he proposed to prevent the landing of troops from Spain: and, in the plenitude of his presumption, meditated to unite the inhabitants of Mexico in his revolt.

In this wretched situation stood affairs, when the Spanish court, sensible of its mistake in sending men into America from the influence of minions and the solicitation of cabals, without any regard to character and virtue, dispatched with unlimited authority Peter de la Gasca, a man of equal integrity with Castro, but superior in the arts of address. These, however, were not used to cloak vice or mask hypocrisy: a natural love of justice, a greatness of soul, and a disinterested spirit, were inherent qualities in both; but Gasca set off these amiable qualities to advantage by the soft polish of conciliating manners.

All those who had not joined in Pizarro's revolt, began to flock under his standard; and many of Pizarro's partizans, charmed with the behaviour of Gasca, forsook their old connexions. The admiral was gained over by insinuation to return to his duty and allegiance; and Pizarro himself was offered a full indemnity on the same terms. But so intoxicating are the ideas of royalty, that Pizarro chose rather to hazard irretrievable ruin than submit to any officer of Spain. With those of his partizans, who still remained faithful to his cause, he determined to risk a battle. He was vanquished and taken prisoner; and his execution speedily followed. Thus the brother of him, who had added Peru to the dominions of Spain, fell a necessary sacrifice for the security of the acquisition.

VOL. I. S

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VIEW OF AMERICA

WHEN
FIRST DISCOVERED.

THE successful discoveries, and valuable acquisitions of the Spaniards on the rich continent of South America, soon excited the attention of other European nations to pursue similar measures by similar means; but the detail of their different expeditions, and of the revolutions that have taken place, neither falls within our plan, nor would it be generally interesting. It is sufficiently known, that flourishing colonies and independent states now exist, which were planted along that very extensive coast, reaching from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence in North America to Rio de la Plata in the South, some of which spread far within land; besides the islands in the gulf of Mexico and elsewhere. A description of these falls within the province of the geographer alone; but before we proceed in our intended course, it may not be amiss to throw together the general observations of various writers on the original inhabitants of this vast continent; to preserve the traces of character which time may obliterate, or an intercourse with Europeans efface. Such a disquisition will be no less gratifying to him who reads for pleasure, than to him who reads for profit. It will assist the speculations of the philosopher, and amuse the leisure of the busy.

When we contemplate the New World, the first circumstance that strikes us is its immense extent. It was not a small portion of the earth, so inconsiderable, that it might

have escaped the observation or research of former ages, which Columbus discovered. He made known a new hemisphere, larger than either Europe, or Asia, or Africa, the three noted divisions of the ancient continent, and not much inferior in dimensions to a third part of the habitable globe.

America is remarkable not only for its magnitude, but for its position. It stretches from the northern polar circle to a high southern latitude, above 1,500 miles beyond the farthest extremity of the old continent on that side of the line. A country of such extent passes through all the climates capable of becoming the habitation of man, and fit for yielding the various productions peculiar either to the temperate or to the torrid regions of the earth.

Next to the extent of the New World, the grandeur of the objects which it presents to view is most apt to strike the eye of an observer. Nature seems here to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale, and with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the features of this country by a peculiar magnificence. The mountains of America are much superior in height to those on the other divisions of the globe. Even the plain of Quito, which may be considered as the base of the Andes, is elevated farther above the sea than the top of the Pyrenees. This stupendous ridge of the Andes, no less remarkable for extent than elevation, rises in different places more than one-third above the peak of Teneriffe, the highest land in the ancient hemisphere. The Andes may literally be said to hide their heads in the clouds; the storms often roll, and the thunder bursts below their summits, which, though exposed to the rays of the sun in the centre of the torrid zone, are covered with everlasting snows.

From these lofty mountains descend rivers, proportionably large, with which the streams in the ancient continent are not to be compared, either for length of course, or the vast body of water which they roll towards the ocean. The Maragnon, the Orinoco, the Plata in South America, the Mississippi and St. Lawrence in North America, flow in such spacious channels, that, long before they feel the influence of the tide, they resemble arms of the sea rather than rivers of fresh water.

The lakes of the New World are no less conspicuous for grandeur than its mountains and rivers. There is nothing in other parts of the globe which resembles the prodigious chain of lakes in North America. They may properly be termed inland seas of fresh water; and even those of the second or third class in magnitude are of larger circuit, the Caspian sea excepted, than the greatest lake of the ancient continent.

The New World is of a form extremely favourable to commercial intercourse. When a continent is formed, like Africa, of one vast solid mass, unbroken by arms of the sea penetrating into its interior parts, with few large rivers, and those at a considerable distance from each other, the greater part of it seems destined to remain for ever uncivilized, and to be debarred from any active or enlarged communication with the rest of mankind. When, like Europe, a continent is opened by inlets of the ocean of great extent, such as the Mediterranean and Baltic; or when, like Asia, its coast is broken by deep bays advancing far into the country, such as the Black sea, the gulfs of Arabia, of Persia, of Bengal, of Siam, and of Leotang; when the surrounding seas are filled with large and fertile islands, and the continent itself watered with a variety of navigable rivers, those regions may be said to possess whatever can facilitate the progress of their inhabitants in commerce and improvement. In all these respects America may bear a comparison with the other quarters of the globe. The gulf of Mexico, which flows in between North and South America, may be considered as a Mediterranean sea, which opens a maritime commerce with all the fertile countries by which it is encircled. The islands scattered in it are inferior only to those in the Indian Archipelago, in number, in magnitude, and in value. As we stretch along the northern division of the American hemisphere, the bay of Chesapeake presents a spacious inlet, which conducts the navigator far into the interior parts of provinces no less fertile than extensive, and if ever the progress of culture and population shall mitigate the extreme rigour of the climate in the more northern districts of America, Hudson's bay may become as subservient to commercial intercourse in that quarter of the globe, as the

Baltic is in Europe. The other great portion of the New World is encompassed on every side by the sea, except one narrow neck, which separates the Atlantic from the Pacific ocean; and though it be not opened by spacious bays or arms of the sea, its interior parts are rendered accessible by a number of large rivers, fed by so many auxiliary streams, flowing in such various directions, that, almost without any aid from the hand of industry and art, an inland navigation may be carried on through all the provinces from the river de la Plata to the gulf of Paria. Nor is this bounty of nature confined to the southern division of America; its northern continent abounds no less in rivers which are navigable almost to their sources, and by its immense chain of lakes provision is made for an inland communication, more extensive and commodious than in any quarter of the globe. The countries stretching from the gulf of Darien on one side, to that of California on the other, which form the chain that binds the two parts of the American continent together, are not destitute of peculiar advantages. Their coast on one side is washed by the Atlantic ocean, on the other by the Pacific. Some of their rivers run into the former, and some into the latter, and secure to them all the commercial benefits that may result from a communication with both.

But what most distinguishes America from the other parts of the earth, is the peculiar temperature of its climate, and the different laws to which it is subject with respect to the distribution of heat and cold. The maxims which are founded upon observation of our hemisphere will not apply to the other. In the New World, cold predominates. The rigour of the frigid zone extends over half of those regions, which should be temperate by their position. Countries where the grape and the fig should ripen, are buried under snow one half of the year; and lands situated in the same parallel with the most fertile and best cultivated provinces in Europe, are chilled with perpetual frosts, which almost destroy the power of vegetation. As we advance to those parts of America which lie in the same parallel with provinces of Asia and Africa, blessed with an uniform enjoyment of such genial warmth as

is most friendly to life and to vegetation, the dominion of cold continues to be felt, and winter reigns, though during a short period, with extreme severity. If we proceed along the American continent into the torrid zone, we shall find the cold prevalent in the New World extending itself also to this region of the globe, and mitigating the excess of its fervour. While the negro on the coast of Africa is scorched with unremitting heat, the inhabitant of Peru breathes an air equally mild and temperate, and is perpetually shaded under a canopy of grey clouds, which intercepts the fierce beams of the sun, without obstructing his friendly influence. Along the eastern coast of America, the climate, though more similar to that of the torrid zone in other parts of the earth, is nevertheless considerably milder than in those countries of Asia and Africa which lie in the same latitude. If from the southern tropic we continue our progress to the extremity of the American continent, we meet with frozen seas, and countries horrid, barren, and scarcely habitable for cold much sooner than in the north.

After contemplating those permanent and characteristic qualities of the American continent, which arise from the peculiarity of its situation, and the disposition of its parts, the next object that merits attention is its condition when first discovered, as far as that depended upon the industry and operations of man. As a great part of the ancient continent has long been occupied by nations far advanced in arts and industry, our eye is accustomed to view the earth in that form which it assumes when rendered fit to be the residence of a numerous race of men, and to supply them with nourishment.

But in the New World, the state of mankind was ruder, and the aspect of nature extremely different. Throughout all its vast region, there were only two monarchies remarkable for extent of territory, or distinguished by any progress in improvement. The rest of this continent was possessed by small independent tribes, destitute of arts and industry, and neither capable to correct the defects, nor desirous to meliorate the condition of that part of the earth allotted to them for their habitation. Countries, occupied by such people, were almost in the same state as if they had been without inhabit-

ants. Immense forests covered a great part of the uncultivated earth; and as the hand of industry had not taught the rivers to run in a proper channel, or drained off the stagnating water, many of the most fertile plains were overflowed with inundations, or converted into marshes. In the southern provinces, where the warmth of the sun, the moisture of the climate, and the fertility of the soil, combine in calling forth the most vigorous powers of vegetation, the woods are so choaked with its rank luxuriance, as to be almost impervious, and the surface of the ground is hid from the eye under a thick covering of shrubs, and herbs, and weeds. In this state of wild unassisted nature, a great part of the large provinces in South America, which extend from the bottom of the Andes to the sea, still remain.

The uncultivated state of the New World affected not only the temperature of the air, but the qualities of its productions. The principle of life seems to have been less active and vigorous there, than in the ancient continent. Notwithstanding the vast extent of America, and the variety of its climates, the different species of animal peculiar to it are much fewer in proportion than those of the other hemisphere. In the islands, there were only four kinds of quadrupeds known, the largest of which did not exceed the size of a rabbit. On the continent, the variety was greater; and though the individuals of each kind could not fail of multiplying exceedingly, when almost unmolested by men, who were neither so numerous, nor so united in society, as to be formidable enemies to the animal creation, the number of distinct species must still be considered as extremely small. Of 200 different kinds of animals spread over the face of the earth, only about one third existed in America at the time of its discovery. Nature was not only less prolific in the New World, but she appears likewise to have been less vigorous in her productions. The animals originally belonging to this quarter of the globe appear to be of an inferior race, neither so robust, nor so fierce, as those of the other continent. America gives birth to no creature of such bulk as to be compared with the elephant or rhinoceros, or that equals the lion and tiger in strength and ferocity. The

tapyr of Brazil, the largest quadruped of the ravenous tribe in the New World, is not larger than a calf of six months old. The *puma* and *jaguar*, its fiercest beasts of prey, which Europeans have inaccurately denominated lions and tigers, possess neither the undaunted courage of the former, nor the ravenous cruelty of the latter. They are inactive and timid, hardly formidable to man, and often turn their backs upon the least appearance of resistance. The same qualities in the climate of America which stunted the growth, and enfeebled the spirits of its native animals, have proved pernicious to such as have migrated into it voluntarily from the other continent, or have been transported thither by the Europeans. The bears, the wolves, the deer of America, are not equal in size to those of the Old World. Most of the domestic animals, with which the Europeans have stored the provinces wherein they settled, have degenerated with respect either to bulk or quality, in a country whose temperature and soil seem to be less favourable to the strength and perfection of the animal creation.

The same causes, which checked the growth and the vigour of the more noble animals, were friendly to the propagation and increase of reptiles and insects. Though this is not peculiar to the New World, and those odious tribes, nourished by heat, moisture, and corruption, infest every part of the torrid zone; they multiply faster, perhaps, in America, and grow to a more monstrous bulk. As this country is, on the whole, less cultivated, and less peopled, than the other quarters of the earth, the active principle of life wastes its force in productions of this inferior form. The air is often darkened with clouds of insects, and the ground covered with shocking and noxious reptiles. The country around Porto Bello swarms with toads in such multitudes, as hide the surface of the earth. At Guyaquil, snakes and vipers are hardly less numerous. Carthagena is infested with numerous flocks of bats, which annoy not only the cattle but the inhabitants. In the islands, legions of ants have, at different times, consumed every vegetable production, and left the earth entirely bare, as if it had been burnt with fire. The damp forests, and rank soil of the

countries on the banks of the Orinoco and Maragnon, teem with almost every offensive and poisonous creature, which the power of a sultry sun can quicken into life.

The birds of the New World are not distinguished by qualities so conspicuous and characteristic, as those which we have observed in its quadrupeds. But in some districts of America, the unwholesome temperature of the air seems to be unfavourable even to this part of the creation. The traveller is struck with the amazing solitude and silence of its forests. It is remarkable, however, that America, where the quadrupeds are so dwarfish and dastardly, should produce the *condor*, which is entitled to pre-eminence over all the flying tribe, in bulk, in strength, and in courage.

The soil, in a continent so extensive as America, must, of course, be extremely various. In general, we may observe, that the moisture and cold, which predominates so remarkably in all parts of America, must have great influence upon the nature of its soil; countries lying in the same parallel with those regions which never feel the extreme rigour of winter in the ancient continent, are frozen over in America during a great part of the year. Chilled by this intense cold, the ground never acquires warmth sufficient to ripen the fruits, which are found in the corresponding parts of the other continent. But, if allowance be made for this diversity in the degree of heat, the soil of America is naturally as rich and fertile as in any part of the earth. As the country was thinly inhabited, and by a people of little industry, who had none of the domestic animals, which civilized nations rear in such vast numbers, the earth was not exhausted by their consumption. The vegetable productions, to which the fertility of the soil gave birth, often remained untouched, and being suffered to corrupt on its surface, returned with increase into its bosom. As trees and plants derive a great part of their nourishment from air and water, if they were not destroyed by man and other animals, they would render to the earth more, perhaps, than they take from it, and feed rather than impoverish it. Thus the unoccupied soil of America may have gone on enriching for many ages. The vast number as well as enormous

size of the trees in America, indicate the extraordinary vigour of the soil in its native state. When the Europeans first began to cultivate the New World, they were astonished at the luxuriant power of vegetation in its virgin mould; and in several places the ingenuity of the planter is still employed in diminishing and wasting its superfluous fertility, in order to bring it down to a state fit for profitable culture.

Having thus surveyed the state of the New World at the time of its discovery, and considered the peculiar features and qualities which distinguish and characterise it, the next inquiry that merits attention is, How was America peopled? By what course did mankind migrate from the one continent to the other? and in what quarter is it most probable that communication was opened between them?

The original population of America is a curious but difficult question. Those, indeed, who deny that the whole human race sprung from the same source, find an easy solution of this problem; but, as this supposition is generally rejected on the best grounds, we will briefly notice a few of the most rational conjectures offered on this much agitated subject.

There is hardly any nation from the north to the south pole, to which some antiquary, in the extravagance of conjecture, has not ascribed the honour of peopling America. Some have supposed that it was originally united to the ancient continent, and disjoined from it by the shock of an earthquake, or the irruption of a deluge. Others have imagined, that some vessel being forced from its course by the violence of a westerly wind, might be driven by accident towards the American coast, and have given a beginning to population in that desolate continent. But with respect to all those systems, it is vain either to reason or enquire, because it is impossible to come to any decision.

It is a vain and frivolous attempt to discover the original of the Americans, merely by tracing the resemblance between their manners and those of any particular people in the ancient continent. For the same wants and the same passions will always produce the same endeavours. It is, however, certain, that America was not peopled by any nation which

had made considerable progress in civilization. For, although the elegant and refined arts may decline or perish, amidst the violent shocks of those revolutions and disasters to which nations are exposed, the necessary arts of life, when once they have been introduced among any people, are never lost.

From considering the animals with which America is stored, we may conclude that the nearest point of contact between the old and new continents is towards the northern extremity of both, and that there the communication was opened, and the intercourse carried on between them.

The actual vicinity of the two continents corroborates the truth of this conjecture. Indeed the possibility of a communication between the north-east promontory of Asia and the American continent rests no longer upon mere conjecture, but is established by undoubted evidence. Some tribe, or some families of wandering Tartars, from the restless spirit peculiar to their race, might migrate to the nearest islands, and, rude as their knowledge of navigation was, might, by passing from one to the other, reach at length the coast of America, and give a beginning to population in that continent.

It is likewise evident from recent discoveries, that an intercourse between our continent and America might be carried on with less facility from the north-west extremities of Europe. As early as the ninth century [*A. D.* 830], the Norwegians discovered Greenland, and planted colonies there, and the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait. The consanguinity of the Esquimaux and Greenlanders is likewise demonstrated by a variety of facts. But though it be possible that America may have received its first inhabitants from our continent, either by the north-west of Europe or the north-east of Asia, there seems to be good reason for supposing that the progenitors of all the American nations, from cape Horn to the southern confines of Labrador, migrated from the latter rather than the former. The Esquimaux are the only people of America, who, in their aspect or character, bear any resemblance to the northern Europeans. They are manifestly a race of men, distinct from all the nations of the American continent, in language, in disposition,

and in habits of life. Their original, then, may warrantably be traced up to the source pointed out. But, among all the other inhabitants of America, there is such a striking similitude in the form of their bodies, and the qualities of their minds, that, notwithstanding the diversities occasioned by the influence of the climate, or unequal progress in improvement, we must pronounce them to be descended from one source. It is remarkable, that in every peculiarity, whether in their persons or dispositions, which characterize the Americans, they have some resemblance to the rude tribes scattered over the north-east of Asia, but almost none to the nations settled in the northern extremities of Europe.

The condition and character of the American nations, at the time when they became known to the Europeans, deserve more attentive consideration, than the enquiry concerning their original. The latter is merely an object of curiosity, the former is one of the most important as well as instructive researches which can occupy the philosopher or historian. The discovery of the New World enlarged the sphere of contemplation, and presented nations to our view, in stages of their progress, much less advanced than those wherein they had been observed in our continent. In America, man appears under the rudest form in which we can conceive him to subsist. If we except the inhabitants of the two potent empires of Mexico and Peru, who, as we have seen, were comparatively refined, the natives of America in general were unacquainted with every European art. Even agriculture itself, one of the first and by far the most useful art, was little known, or little cultivated. The principle dependence for supplying the wants of animal life, was on hunting the wild beasts which the mountains and woods abundantly supplied. This exercise, which is here a serious and important study, gives a strength to the frame and agility to the limbs, unparalleled among other nations. To the same cause, perhaps, it is owing, that in climates not too warm, their bodies are uncommonly straight, and well proportioned. They are muscular and vigorous, with flattish heads, which is the effect of art; their features are regular; but their modes of life give a

fierceness to their aspects. Their hair is long, black, and of a strong texture. The colour of the skin is a reddish brown: this is the tint most admired among them, and is therefore heightened by the use of bear's grease and paint.

The character of these people is formed on, and influenced by the circumstances and way of living. Constantly occupied in procuring the means of a precarious subsistence by hunting; and frequently at the same time engaged in war with their neighbours, their temper is little suited to gaiety, nor subject to an exhilaration of spirits. They are therefore generally grave to sadness: they possess none of that giddy vivacity, that high flow of soul which are peculiar to some nations in other parts of the world, and they despise them. Their deportment is regular, modest, and respectful to those with whom they associate. Unacquainted with the pleasing arts of conversation, of saying trifles agreeably, or complimenting to be complimented again; they seldom speak but when they have something important to observe. All their actions, words, and even looks, are calculated to answer some purpose, and convey some meaning. This is natural to men who are always engaged in laborious pursuits, and ignorant of elegant amusements. Their subsistence wholly depends on their own toil and exertions; their lives, their liberty, all that is dear may be lost by a momentary inattention to the views and designs of their enemies. Having no objects to attach them to one place more than another, they rove wherever the necessities of life are to be found in the greatest abundance. Cities and towns, the result of labour and application to arts, they have none. For this reason, the various tribes or nations are broken into small societies, compared with civilized countries, in which, mutual wants and a reciprocal interchange of benefits have congregated numerous individuals into one political band. These small tribes are thinly dispersed; they are insulated by a desert frontier, which it is an aggression to pass; and hid in the bosom of everlasting and almost impenetrable forests.

A certain species of government is established in every particular society, which with little variation prevails over the

greatest part of this continent. Their manners and modes of life being nearly similar, so are their civil institutions also. Devoid of arts, riches, or luxury, the instruments of subjection in polished society, and the incentives to obtain rule, an American has no means of rendering himself considerable among his countrymen, but by a superiority in personal qualities, or mental endowments.

But as nature has not been very lavish in her distinctions, and the means of education are the same to all, there is a great degree of equality among them, and a desire to maintain it. Hence liberty is the prevailing passion, to which all others are subservient; and their government, influenced by this sentiment, is as effectually secured as by the wisest political regulations. They are far, however, from despising an authority, which they consider as legitimate, or from disclaiming a subjection to its decrees. The voice of wisdom is heard with regard; the experience of the aged is respected by the young; and they are ready to enlist under the banners of the chief whose prowess has entitled him to distinction, whose military address has inspired them with confidence.

In every tribe, therefore, the power of a single chief, or of the collective body of the elders prevails; and as the government inclines more to the one or the other, it may be regarded as monarchical or aristocratical; but founded on talents alone. Where war is the frequent pest, the power of the chief is predominant, because the necessity of having a leader was the origin of his superiority; and the continual exigencies of the state will continue to support and enhance the right to command. The power of the chieftain, however, is rather kept up by persuasive arts, than coercive restraints; he is revered as a father rather than dreaded as a monarch. In the other form of government, the power of the elders is equally limited and exercised for similar ends. In some tribes, indeed, there is a kind of hereditary aristocracy, which having gained influence by time, has proportionable effects.

Business is here transacted with a simplicity which realises the descriptions of early ages. The heads of families assemble on a spot appointed for the purpose: and here those of the

nation who are most distinguished for eloquence or wisdom, have an opportunity of displaying their talents in the public discussion. The Indian orator, flowery, figurative, strong, but unrefined in his expression, accompanies his words with corresponding gestures. When the business is dispatched, they appoint a feast on the occasion, and almost the whole nation partakes of what stores they possess. Every feast is enlivened with a song, in which the real or fabulous exploits of their heroes are recorded. They have dances too, partaking of the military character, and these are the constant accompaniment of a feast.

War and hunting are the only occupations of the men. Their wars are either undertaken by private adventurers, or at the instance of the whole community. In the latter case, all the youths, who are disposed to go to battle, for no one is compelled, give the chief a bit of wood, as a pledge that they will stand by him. Nothing is undertaken or transacted without many forms and ceremonies. These are deemed sacred and essential, and are regarded as binding when once passed.

The destined leader fasts for several days, during which he is sequestered from company, and indulges in the visionary belief of dreams, which the heated imagination is apt to produce correspondent to the wish excited. A variety of other superstitions are practised. One of the most terrible we shall particularize: It is setting the war-kettle on the fire, as a symbol of the destruction that awaits their foes. Among some nations it is certain that this symbol had a precise meaning. They actually devoured those whom they took prisoners; and now, when this inhuman practice is by no means very frequent, they preserve the emblem to rouse their indignant passions. They then dispatch a porcelain, or large shell, to their allies, inviting them to unite and drink the blood of their enemies. Having finished the previous ceremonies of war, they black their faces with charcoal, intermixed with streaks of red, which gives them a most ferocious and horrid appearance. They then exchange their clothes with their friends, and dispose of whatever articles they value most among the

women, who accompany them to a distance, to receive those pledges of love, should their separation be eternal.

War being commenced, the grand qualities are vigilance to prevent surprise, and attention to give one: and in these respects the Indians are superior to all other nations. They can trace out their enemies at an immense distance by the smell of their fires, and by the tracks of their feet, imperceptible to an European eye; but which they can count and distinguish with the utmost precision. They can even discriminate the different nations with which they are acquainted, and can determine the exact time when they passed, where no European, with the assistance of glasses, could distinguish a trace. These advantages, however, are of small importance, because their enemies rarely possess them.

But should the enemy be apprized of their design, and advance to the combat in arms, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves; and starting all at once from their ambush, with a tremendous shout, assail their foes. The party attacked returns the same cry. Where trees can be used as a shelter, each retires behind one, till prepared to repeat the blow; and thus does the battle continue till one party is so far weakened, as to be incapable of farther resistance. But should the force on both sides remain nearly the same, the fierce spirits of the savages, inflamed by the loss of their friends, can no longer submit to regular attack or ordinary precautions. They abandon the distant war; they rush on each other with clubs and hatchets, and magnifying their own courage, and insulting the foe with the most bitter invectives. Death now appears in a thousand hideous forms. Heedless of any thing but revenge, they trample on the wounded; they insult even the dead; they scalp; they wallow in blood; and even devour the flesh with a mad ferocity. The flame rages on till resistance dies away. The prisoners are then secured. Unhappy men! the fate of their slaughtered companions was mild to theirs. The conquerors, as they approach their own villages, set up a hideous howl, to bewail the friends they have lost: they approach in a melancholy and stern gloom. A messenger precedes them: and the

women, with frightful shrieks, come out to mourn their private losses. When they reach their abodes, the chief in a low tone relates to the elders a circumstantial account of the expedition, with all its turns. The orator then proclaims this intelligence to the people; and as he recounts the names of those who have fallen, the cries of the females increase. The men too join in the expression of sorrow, according as each is connected with the deceased by the ties of blood or friendship. The last ceremony is the proclamation of victory. Each individual then endeavours to forget his private misfortunes, and joins to celebrate the triumphs of his tribe. The shrieks are suspended, the tears wiped away; and, by a wonderful transition, they pass from the bitterness of grief to the extravagance of exultation. But the treatment of the prisoners yet remains to be detailed; it is that which chiefly characterizes the savages; it is that which shocks the civilized, and shews the advantages of refinement.

The person who has taken the captive attends him to the cottage; when, according to the distribution made by the elders, he is to be delivered up to supply the loss of a member of their community. If those who receive him think his services will be useful to them, he is immediately adopted into the family, and becomes one of its number in every respect. But if they have no occasion to augment their society, or if resentment for the loss of their friends stimulates them to seek revenge on all who were accessory to it, the sentence is inevitable death.

In this case, all who have received the same severe doom are collected; and the whole nation is assembled, as if to celebrate some distinguished festival. A scaffold is erected, where the prisoners, being tied to the stake, commence the death song, and prepare for their approaching fate with undaunted mind. Their ungenerous and savage enemies, on the other hand, are determined to put their courage to the proof, by the most exquisite tortures. They begin the work of death at the extremities of the body, and gradually approach the vitals. One plucks out the nails of the captive by a slow process, another tears off the flesh of a finger with his teeth, and

a third thrusts the lacerated member into the bowl of a red-hot pipe, which he smokes like tobacco. Then they pound the toes and fingers to pieces between stones: they strip the flesh with their teeth, and trace circles about the joints, and gashes in the muscular parts, which they immediately sear with red-hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching alternately. The flesh, thus mangled and roasted, is sometimes devoured with greediness, morsel by morsel, while the blood serves to smear their faces, and to give the tormentors a look as infernal as their hearts.

Having torn off the flesh, they twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them; while others are employed in stretching the limbs every way that ingenuity can devise, to increase the torment. This process continues for five or six hours together; and such is the strength and fortitude of savages, that it has sometimes been extended to days.

To protract the work of death they sometimes unbind the captive, to give a respite to their fury, and to invent new inflictions. He is again fastened to the stake, and again they renew their cruelty. Even amid the temporary respite they sometimes give him, it has been known that a profound sleep has overtaken the victim, and that the application of fire was necessary to awake him. He is now stuck over with matches of wood, easily kindled, but slow in consuming; they pierce the body in every part with reeds, they pull out the teeth, they scoop out the eyes; and lastly, having mangled the frame in such a manner that it is only one continued wound, having mutilated the face so as to leave nothing human in it, and carried barbarity to its most exalted pitch, they again unbind the wretch. Now blind, faltering, falling, assailed with stones and clubs, and passive of the worst, one of the chiefs, perhaps, wearied of cruelty, rather than satiated with revenge, gives him a *coup-de-grace* with a dagger or a club. The body is then committed to the kettle, and a barbarous feast is the winding up of this dismal tragedy.

In most countries the female character is distinguished for a superior degree of softness and humanity; here the women,

if possible, outdo the men in this scene of horror, while the principal persons of the country form a circle round the stake, and smoke on without emotion. But what will most surprise is, that the sufferer himself, in the intervals of his torments, smokes too, and converses with indifference. Indeed, seldom does a groan escape him, amidst the most aggravated sufferings. He endures them all with a fortitude and a constancy more than human. He possesses his mind unmoved; not a distortion of face betrays the anguish he endures. He recounts his exploits; he boasts what cruelties he has inflicted on their countrymen, and menaces them with the revenge that will attend his death. Though exasperated to madness by his reproaches, he continues his insults, upbraids them with their ignorance in the science of tormenting; and points out more efficacious means. Even the women possess the same degree of resolution and torture; to suffer without emotion is the pride, the glory of an Indian. Such is the force of inbred habits, and a ferocious thirst of frame.

The history of human nature does not furnish a stronger contrast than this cruelty of the savages towards those with whom they are at war, and the warmth of their affection to their friends. When any member of the society is cut off, he is lamented by the whole with a thousand demonstrations of genuine sorrow. One of the most remarkable ceremonies used on this melancholy occasion, and which discovers both the intenseness and the continuance of their grief, is what they denominate the feast of souls. This day of awful form is appointed by public order; and no care is neglected to render the celebration magnificently solemn. The neighbouring tribes are invited to join in the solemnity. On this occasion, all who have died since the last commemoration (which is renewed every eight or ten years) are disinterred, and brought to the general rendezvous of corruption.

It is impossible to describe the horror of this scene in more lively terms than those which Lafitau has used. 'Unquestionably,' says he, 'the opening of these tombs displays one of the most striking scenes that can be conceived; this humbling portrait of human misery, in so many images of death, wherein

she seems to take a pleasure to paint herself in a thousand various shapes of horror, according to the degree which corruption has prevailed over them, or in the manner in which it has attacked them. Some appear dry and withered; others have a sort of parchment on their bones; some look as if they were baked and smoked, without any appearance of putridity; some are just verging to the point of putrefaction; while others are swarming with worms, and a mass of corruption. I know not which ought to strike us most; the horror of such a shocking sight, or the tender pity and affection of these poor people towards their departed friends. For nothing deserves our admiration more, than that eager zeal and attention with which they discharge this melancholy duty of their respect; gathering up carefully even the minutest bones, handling the carcases, disgusting as they are with every thing loathsome, cleansing them from the worms, and carrying them on their shoulders through tiresome journies of several days, without sinking under their burden, or the offensiveness of the smell, and without suffering any emotions to intrude, but those of regret for having lost persons so dear to them in life, so lamented in death.

‘ Having brought the remains into their cottages, they prepare a feast in honour of the dead; during which their heroic actions are celebrated, and all the tender intercourses that took place between them and their surviving friends are piously called to mind. Even the strangers, who sometimes attend from very remote tribes, join in tender condolence; and the natural shrieks of the females prove, that they are penetrated with the sharpest sorrow. The dead are then carried out to be re-interred. A large pit is dug in the ground and thither, at a certain time, each person, attended by his family and friends, marches in solemn silence, bearing the dust of a near and tender relation. When they are all convened, the dead bodies are deposited in the pit together, with what valuables they most esteemed, and even the presents of strangers; and then the torrent of grief breaks out afresh. After this they descend into the pit; and each supplies himself with a little of the earth, which is preserved with religious care. The

bodies, ranged in order, are covered with fresh furs, and over these with bark, on which they heap wood, earth, and stones. Then taking a last adieu, they return to their homes.'

Though religion is not a very prevailing sentiment among the savages, religious imposters are as numerous here as in any country; and some of them act their part with much dexterity and success. These, when their character is once established on the popular belief of their supernatural powers, not only prescribe laws and observances, but even undertake to unfold the mysteries of futurity, and to solve and interpret visions and dreams. They, in general, represent the other world as a place abounding with an inexhaustible plenty of every thing desirable; and that the full and exquisite gratification of all the senses shall be the reward of the conduct they prescribe. Hence the Indians meet death with a stoical apathy. The news, that they have but a few hours to live, communicates no alarm. An American, on the brink of eternity, harangues his family and friends with spirit and composure; and gives his dying advice with the same collected mind, as if he were directing in daily occupations.

It will immediately be recognized, that the preceding remarks apply chiefly to the North American Indians. In our account of the conquests of Mexico and Peru it appeared, that the original inhabitants of South America were very different. Such of the inhabitants of the New World as first fell under the observation of Europeans, differed essentially from those we have just described, and from the generality of people in the ancient hemisphere. They are generally more feeble in their frames, and less vigorous in their mental efforts. Their spirit is more mild and gentle; but they are enervated by indolence and a love of pleasure, and timid and irresolute in all their pursuits.

VOYAGE
OF
DON GEORGE JUAN
AND
DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA
TO
SOUTH AMERICA.

THE Spaniards are by no means a literary nation, and as far as an intimate knowledge of their American settlements extends, foreigners, from want of opportunity, must be confessedly deficient. It is therefore with pleasure we enter on the present voyage, not less distinguished for accuracy and fidelity, than for the abilities of the writer, and the ample scope his situation gave him for enquiry and remark.

The expedition, which gave rise to this narrative, was undertaken by the command of the king of Spain, and the original was published at Madrid under his direction. In order to determine the true figure of the earth, it was a desideratum to measure a degree of the meridian near the equator. For this purpose, Louis XV. had applied to the Spanish monarch to be permitted to send some of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris to Quito, which is situated near the equator, that they might make the necessary observations for solving a problem of such importance to the sciences in general, and to those of geography and navigation in particular. The king of

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Spain, not only yielding to this honourable solicitation, but animated with a desire of sharing in the glory of so noble a design, appointed DON GEORGE JUAN and DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA, both captains in the Spanish navy, and very able mathematicians, to accompany the French delegates to Quito, and to assist them in an undertaking at once arduous and important.

These gentlemen embarked at Cadiz on the 26th of May, 1735; and after some impediments from contrary winds, without any other material occurrence, came to an anchor in Carthagena bay, on the 9th of July. The city of Carthagena stands in 10 deg. 25 min. 48½ sec. north latitude, and in the longitude of 282 deg. 28 min. 36 sec. from the meridian of Paris. The variation of the needle, they also, from several observations, found to be eight degrees easterly.

The advantageous situation of Carthagena, the extent and security of its bay, and the great share it attained of the commerce of that southern continent, soon caused it to be erected into a city; and the same circumstance contributed to its preservation and increase, so that it soon became the most esteemed settlement and staple of the Spaniards; but, at the same time, these advantages also drew on it the hostilities of foreigners, who, thirsting after its riches, or induced by the importance of the place itself, have several times taken and plundered it.

The city is situated on a sandy island, which, forming a narrow passage on the south-west, opens a communication with that part called Tierra Bomba, as far as Boca Chica. The land is so narrow on the north side, that, originally, the distance from sea to sea was only 35 fathoms; but afterwards enlarging, forms another island on this side; and the whole city is, excepting these two places, which are very narrow, entirely surrounded by the sea. Eastward, it communicates by means of a wooden bridge: the fortifications, both of the city and suburbs, are constructed in the modern form, and lined with free-stone.

The city and suburbs of Carthagena are well laid out, the streets being straight, broad, uniform, and well paved. The

houses are built of stone, except a few, which are of brick; but consist chiefly of only one story above the ground floor; the apartments, however, are well contrived. All the houses have balconies and lattices of wood, as being more durable, in this climate, than iron, which is soon corroded and destroyed by the moisture and acrimonious quality of the nitrous air. All the churches and convents are elegant and sufficiently capacious; but there appears something of poverty in the ornaments, and some of them want what even decency requires.

To the above circumstantial description of the city of Carthagena, it may not be amiss to add a short account of its inhabitants, which may be divided into different casts or tribes, who derive their origin from a coalition of whites, negroes, and Indians.

These different casts, from the mulattoes, all affect the Spanish dress, but wear very slight stuffs, on account of the heat of the climate. These are the mechanics of the city; the whites, whether creoles or chapitones, disdaining such mean occupations, follow nothing below merchandize. But it being impossible for all to succeed, great numbers, not being able to procure sufficient credit, become poor and miserable, from their aversion to those trades they follow in Europe; and, instead of the riches, which they flattered themselves with possessing in the Indies, they experience the most complicated wretchedness.

The class of negroes is divided into two parts, the free men and the slaves; the latter are employed in the farms and villages, and part in the city. Those in the city are obliged to perform the most laborious services, and pay out of their wages a certain quota to their masters; subsisting themselves on the small remainder. The violence of the heat not permitting them to wear any clothes, their only covering is a small piece of cotton stuff about their waist; the female slaves go in the same manner. Some of these live at the farm houses, being married to the slaves who work there; while those in the city sell in the markets all kinds of eatables, and dry fruits, sweet-meats, cakes made of maize and cassava, and several other things about the streets. Those who have children sucking

at their breasts, carry them on their shoulders, in order to have their arms at liberty; and when the infant is hungry, they give them the breast, either under the arm or over the shoulder, without taking them from their backs. This will, perhaps, appear incredible, but their breasts being left to grow, without any pressure on them, often hang down to their very waists.

In the house, the whole exercise of the ladies consists in sitting in their hammocks, and swinging themselves for air. This is so general a custom, that there is not a house without two or three, according to the number of the family. In these they pass the greater part of the day; and often men, as well as women, sleep in them, without minding the inconveniency of not stretching the body at full length.

Both sexes are observed to be possessed of a great share of wit and penetration, and also of a genius proper to excel in all kinds of mechanic arts. This is particularly conspicuous in those who apply themselves to literature, and who, at a tender age, shew a judgment and perspicacity, which, in other climates, is attained only by a long series of years, and the the greatest application. This happy disposition continues till they are between 20 and 30 years of age, after which they generally decline as fast as they rose; and frequently, before they arrive at that age, when they should begin to reap the advantage of their studies, a natural indolence checks their farther progress, and they forsake the sciences, leaving the surprising effects of their capacity imperfect.

The principal cause of the short duration of such promising beginnings, and of the indolent turn so often seen in these bright geniuses is, doubtless, the want of proper objects for exercising their faculties, and the small hopes of being preferred to any post answerable to the pains they have taken: for, as there is in this country neither army nor navy, and the civil employments very few, it is not at all surprising, that the despair of making their fortunes by this method, should damp their ardour for excelling in the sciences, and plunge them into idleness, the sure forerunner of vice. The same is

evident in the mechanic arts, wherein they easily excel and speedily decline, from the causes already mentioned.

One of the most favourite amusements of the natives here, is a ball, or fandango, after the manner of the country. And these are the distinguished rejoicings on festivals and remarkable days. These diversions, in houses of distinction, are conducted in a very regular manner; they open with the Spanish dances, and are succeeded by those of the country, which are not without spirit and gracefulness.

The fandangos, or balls of the populace, consist principally in drinking brandy and wine, intermixed with indecent and scandalous motions and gestures; and these continual rounds of drinking soon give rise to quarrels, which often bring on misfortunes. When any strangers of rank visit the city, they are generally at the expence of these balls, and as the entrance is free to all, and no want of liquor, they need give themselves no concern about the want of company.

Their burials and mournings are also something singular, as in this particular they endeavour to display their grandeur and dignity, too often at the expense of their tranquillity. If the deceased be a person of condition, his body is placed on a pompous catafalco, erected on the principal apartment of the house, amidst a blaze of tapers. In this manner the corpse lies 24 hours, or longer, for the acquaintance of the family to visit it at all hours; and likewise, the lower class of women, among whom it is a custom to come and lament the deceased. The funeral, also, is accompanied with the like noisy lamentations; and even after the corpse is deposited in the grave, the mourning is continued in the house for nine days.

The French mathematicians arrived at Carthagena on the 16th of November, 1735, where they were joined by the Spanish artists; and on the 24th, they all embarked on board a French frigate for Porto Bello. The passage was very short and pleasant; so that on the 29th of the same month, they came to an anchor in Porto Bello harbour. The town of St. Philip de Porto Bello, according to their observations, stands in 9 deg. 34 min. 35 sec. north latitude. This harbour was discovered on the 2d of November, 1502, by Christopher

Columbus, who was so charmed with its extent, depth, and security, that he gave it the name of Porto Bello, or the Fine Harbour.

The town stands near the sea, on the declivity of a mountain surrounding the whole harbour. Many of the houses are built with wood, but in some the first story is of stone, and the remainder of wood: they are about 130 in number, and most of them large and spacious. It is under the jurisdiction of a governor, with the title of lieutenant-general, under the president of Panama. At the east end of the town is a quarter called Guinea; because there all the negroes, whether slaves or free, have their habitations. This quarter is much crowded, when the galleons are in the harbour, most of the inhabitants of the town entirely quitting their houses at that season, for the advantage of letting them.

In a large track between the town and Gloria Castle, barracks are erected, and principally filled with the ship crews, who keep stalls of sweetmeats, and other kinds of eatables, brought from Spain. But after the conclusion of the fair, when the ships are sailed, all those buildings are taken down, and the town returns to its former tranquillity and emptiness.

The harbour of Porto Bello is extremely commodious for all sorts of ships or vessels; and, though its entrance is very wide, it is well defended by fort St. Philip de todo Fierro. It stands on the north point of the entrance, which is about 600 fathoms broad; but the south side being full of ridges of rocks, extending to some distance from the shore, a ship is obliged to stand to the north, through the deepest part of the channel, which lies in the middle of the entrance, and thus continues in a straight direction.

Among the mountains, which surround the whole harbour of Porto Bello, beginning from St. Philip de todo Fierro, or the Iron Castle, and without any decrease of height, extending to the opposite point, one is particularly remarkable by its superior altitude, as if designed for the barometer of the country, by foretelling every change of weather. This mountain distinguished by the name of Capiro, stands at the utmost extremity of the harbour, in the road to Panama.

Its top is always covered with clouds of a density and darkness seldom seen in this atmosphere; and from these, which are called the capillo, or cap, has possibly been corruptly formed the name of Monte Capiro. When these clouds thicken, increase their blackness, and sink below their usual station, it is a sure sign of a tempest: while, on the other hand, their clearness and ascent as certainly indicate the approach of fair weather. It must, however, be remembered, that these changes are very frequent, and almost instantaneous. The inclemency of the climate of Porto Bello is sufficiently known all over Europe. Not only strangers who come thither are affected by it, but even the natives themselves suffer in various manners. It destroys the vigour of nature, and often untimely cuts the thread of life. The heat is excessive, being augmented by the situation of the town, which is surrounded with high mountains, without any interval for the winds whereby it might be refreshed. The trees on these mountains stand so thick as to intercept the rays of the sun; and consequently hinder them from drying the earth under them; hence copious exhalations from large clouds, which precipitate themselves in violent torrents of rain. But these are no sooner over, than the sun breaks forth afresh, and shines with his former splendour; though scarcely has the activity of his rays dried the surface of the ground, till the atmosphere is again clouded by another collection of thick vapours, and the sun again concealed: the night is also subject to the same vicissitudes. These torrents of rain are accompanied with such tempests of thunder and lightning, as must daunt the most resolute.

This continual inclemency, added to the fatigue of the seamen in unloading the ships, renders them weak and faint; and they, in order to recruit their spirits, have recourse to brandy, of which there is, on these occasions, an incredible consumption. The excessive labour, immoderate drink, and the inclemency and unhealthiness of the climate must jointly destroy the best constitutions, and produce those deleterious diseases so common in this country. But it is not the seamen alone who are subject to these diseases; others, who are

strangers to the seas and not concerned in the fatigues, are also attacked by them; and, consequently, is a sufficient demonstration, that the other two are only collateral, though they tend both to spread and inflame the distemper. On some occasions, physicians have been sent for from Carthagena, as being supposed to be better acquainted with the properest methods of curing the distempers of this country, and, consequently, more able to recover the seamen: but experience has shewn, that this intention has been so little answered, that the galleons, or other European ships, which stay any time here, seldom leave it without burying half, or at least one-third, of their men; and hence this city has, with too much reason, been termed the grave of the Spaniards; but it may, with much greater propriety, be applied to those of other nations who visit it.

The number of the inhabitants of Porto Bello, by reason of its smallness, and the inclemency of its climate, is very inconsiderable, and the greatest part of these are negroes and mulattoes, there being scarce 30 white families; for all who, by commerce or their estates, are in easy circumstances, remove to Panama, so that those only stay at Porto Bello, whose employments oblige them to it.

Provisions are scarce at Porto Bello, and consequently dear, particularly during the time of the galleons and the fair, when there is a necessity for a supply from Carthagena and Panama. The only thing in plenty here is fish, of which there is a great variety, and very good. It also abounds in sugar-canes, so that the chacaras, or farm houses, if, indeed, they deserve that name, are built of them.

Fresh water pours down in streams from the mountains, some running without the town, and others crossing it. These waters are very light and digestive, and, in those who are used to them, good to create an appetite; qualities, which, in other countries, would be very valuable, but are here pernicious. This country seems so cursed by nature, that what is in itself good, becomes here destructive. For, doubtless, this water is too active and fine for the stomachs of the inhabitants;

and thus produces dysenteries, the last stage of all other distempers, and which the patient very seldom survives. The rivulets, in their descent from the mountains, form little reservoirs or ponds, whose coolness is increased by the shade of the trees; and in these all the inhabitants of the town bathe themselves constantly, every day, at eleven in the morning; and the Europeans fail not to follow an example so pleasant and conducive to health.

As the forests almost border on the houses of the town, the tigers often make incursions into the streets, during the night, carrying off fowls, dogs, and other domestic creatures; and sometimes, even boys have fallen a prey to them; and it is certain, that ravenous beasts, after tasting human flesh, prefer it to all others. Beside the snares usually laid for them, the negroes and mulattoes are very dexterous in encountering the tiger; and some, on account of the slender reward, seek them in their retreats. The arms, in this onset, are only a lance of two or three yards in length, made of a very strong wood, with the point of the same hardened in the fire; and a kind of cimeter, about three quarters of a yard in length. Thus armed, they stay till the creature makes an assault on the left arm, which holds the lance, and is wrapped up in a short cloak of bays. Sometimes the tiger, aware of the danger, seems to decline the combat; but his antagonist provokes him with a slight touch of the lance, in order, while he is defending himself, to strike a sure blow: for as soon as the creature feels the lance, he grasps it with one of his paws, and with the other strikes at the arm which holds it. Then it is that the person nimbly aims a blow with his cimeter, which he kept concealed in the other hand, and hamstring the tiger, which immediately draws back enraged, but returns to the charge; when, receiving another such stroke, he is totally deprived of his most dangerous weapons, and rendered incapable of moving. After which the person kills him at his leisure; and stripping off his skin, and cutting off the head, and the fore and hind feet, returns to the town, displaying those as the trophies of his victory.

Among the great variety of animals in this country, one of the most remarkable is the *Perico ligero*, or nimble Peter, an ironical name given it on account of its extreme sluggishness. This disgusting creature is well known to naturalists by the name of the sloth. When he moves, every effort is attended with such a plaintive, and at the same time so disagreeable, a cry, as at once produces pity and disgust. In this cry consists his whole defence; for, it being natural for him to fly at the first hostile approach of any beast, he makes, at every motion, such howlings as are even insupportable to his pursuer, who soon quits him, and even flies beyond the hearing of his horrid noise. Nor is it only during the time he is in motion that he makes these cries; he repeats them while he rests himself, continuing a long time motionless before he takes another march. The food of this creature is generally wild fruits; and when he can find none on the ground, he looks out for a tree well loaded, which, with a great deal of pains, he climbs; and, in order to save himself such another toilsome ascent, plucks off all the fruit, throwing them on the ground; and to avoid the pain of descending the tree, forms himself into a ball, and drops from the branches. At the foot of this tree he continues till all the fruit is consumed, never stirring till hunger forces him to seek again for food.

Porto Bello becomes, at the time of the galleons, one of the most populous places in all South America. Its situation on the isthmus, betwixt the south and north sea, the goodness of its harbour, and its small distance from Panama, has given it the preference for the rendezvous of the joint commerce of Spain and Peru at its fair.

Soon after the Spanish and French mathematicians arrived at Porto Bello, they sent advice of it to the president of Panama, requesting him to send some of the vessels used in the navigation of the river Chagre, to carry them to Panama; as their instruments rendered it impossible for them to travel through the narrow craggy rocks leading from Porto Bello to that city. He readily complied with their request, and immediately dispatched two vessels to Porto Bello; on board which they all embarked on the 22d of December, and rowed

out of Porto Bello harbour, and at four in the evening, landed at the custom-house, at the mouth of the river Chagre. This river has its source in the mountains near the town of Cruces. Its entrance at the north sea is defended by a fort, situated on a steep rock near the sea-shore, on the east side of the river. About 20 yards from this fort is the town of San Lorenzo de Chagres.

Perhaps nothing can excel the prospects which the rivers of this country exhibit. The most fertile imagination of a painter can never equal the magnificence of the rural landscapes which are here to be seen. The groves, which shade the plains, and extend their branches to the river, are inhabited by an infinite variety of creatures. The different species of monkeys, skipping in troops from tree to tree, hanging from the branches; in other places six or eight of them linked together, in order to pass a river; the dams with their young on their shoulders, throwing themselves into odd postures, and making a thousand grimaces, will appear fictitious to those who have never seen them. But if the birds be added, our reason for admiration will be greatly increased: for here is an amazing abundance, whose plumage glitters with all the colours of the rainbow.

On their arrival at Cruces, they were entertained by the alcade of the town; and on the 27th set out on their journey to Panama, which they reached in the evening. The first waited on the president, who received them all in the most cordial and endearing manner. Some indispensable preparations detained them longer at Panama than they expected. But at length every difficulty being surmounted, they embarked in the bay of Panama, and directed their course towards the river Guiaquil.

Panama is built on an isthmus of the same name, the coast of which is washed by the South Sea. From the observations those mathematicians made here, the latitude of this city appears to be 8 deg. 5 min. 48½ sec. north. With regard to its longitude it is still doubtful, whether it is on the east or west side of the meridian of Porto Bello.

The houses in general, when our artists visited this city,

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were of wood, of one story, and a tiled roof, but large; and their disposition, and the symmetry of their windows, made a handsome appearance: a few were of stone. The streets, both of the city and suburbs, are straight, broad, and, for the most part paved. In this city is a tribunal, or royal audience, in which the governor of Panama presides; and to this employment is annexed the captain-ship-general of Terra Firma, which is generally conferred on an officer of distinction, though his common title is that of president of Panama; it is a bishopric, and has also a court of inquisition appointed by the tribunal of inquisition at Carthagena.

The harbour of this city is formed in its road, by the shelter of several islands, particularly Isla de Naos, de Perico, and Flamencos; and the anchoring place is before the second, and thence called Perico. The ships here lie very safe, and their distance from the city is about two leagues and a half, or three leagues. Both the road and the whole coast abound in a great variety of excellent fish, among which are two kinds of oysters, one smaller than the other; but the smallest are much the best. At the bottom of the sea are a great number of pearls; and the oysters in which they are found, are remarkably delicious. This kind of fishery is of great advantage to the inhabitants of all the islands in this bay.

The harbour of Perico is the rendezvous of the Peru fleet, during the time of the fair; and is never without barks loaded with provisions from the ports of Peru, and a great number of coasting vessels going from thence to Choco, and parts on the western coast of that kingdom.

The inhabitants of Panama greatly resemble those of Carthagena in their dispositions, except in their being more parsimonious, and more designing; the women imitate the dress of the ladies of Peru. They wear girdles, and five or six chaplets, or rows of fine beads, about their necks, together with two or more gold chains, having some relics appendant from them. Round their arms they wear bracelets of gold, and strings of pearls, corals, or beugles.

Provisions of all kinds are very dear in this city and its district, occasioned by the large quantity required, and the great

distance which they are brought; but this is amply compensated by the multitude and value of the pearls found in the oysters of the gulph; and particularly those near the Islands del Rey Tabago, and others to the number of forty-three, forming a small archipelago. There are few persons of substance near Panama, who do not employ all, or at least part of, their slaves in this fishery; the manner of which not being commonly known, it will not be improper to describe it here.

The owners of the negroes employ the most proper persons for this fishery; which being performed at the bottom of the sea, they must be both expert swimmers, and capable of holding their breath a long time. These they send to the islands, where they have huts built for their lodgings, and boats which hold eight, ten, or twenty negroes, under the command of an officer. In these boats they go to such parts as are known to produce pearls, and where the depth of the water is not above ten, twelve, or fifteen fathoms. Here they come to an anchor; and the negroes having a rope fastened round their bodies, and the other end to the side of the boat, they take with them a small weight to accelerate their sinking, and plunge into the water. On reaching the bottom, they take up an oyster, which they put under the left arm: the second they hold in their left hand, and the third in their right: with these three oysters, and sometimes another in their mouth, they rise to breathe, and put them in a bag. When they have rested themselves a while and recovered their breath, they dive a second time; and thus continue, till they have either completed their task, or strength fails them. Every one of those negro divers, is obliged daily to deliver his master a certain fixed number of pearls; so that when they have got the requisite number of oysters in their bag, they begin to open them, and deliver the pearls to the officer, till they have made up the number due to their master. The remainder is the property of the negroes.

Beside the toil of this fishery, from the oysters strongly adhering to the rocks, they are also in no small danger from some kinds of fish, which either seize the negroes, or by striking on them, crush them to the bottom. The fishery on

the whole coast is obnoxious to the same danger from those fish; but they are much more frequent where such riches abound. The taberones and tintoretas, which are of an enormous size, feed on the bodies of these unfortunate fishermen; and the mantas, or quilts, either press them to death, by wrapping their fins about them, or crush them with their prodigious weight.

Every negro, to defend himself against these animals, carries with him a sharp knife, with which, if the fish offers to assault him, he endeavours to strike it in a part where it has no power to hurt him; on which the fish immediately flies. The officers keep a watchful eye on these voracious creatures, and on discovering them, shake the rope, fastened to the negroes bodies, that they may be upon their guard.

Every thing being now ready for their departure, they embarked on board the *St. Christopher*, commanded by captain Don Juan Manuel Morrel; and on the 9th of March, 1786; about three in the evening, they came to an anchor in Manta bay; being desirous of viewing this coast, in order to know whether by forming their first base in one of its plains, the series of triangles could be continued to the mountains in the neighbourhood of Quito. Accordingly they went on shore in the evening of the sixth, and repaired to the village of Monte Christo, about three leagues from the coast; but soon found that geometrical operations were impracticable there, the country being every where extremely mountainous, and almost wholly covered with prodigious trees, an insurmountable obstacle to any such design: they therefore determined to pursue their voyage to Guiaquil, and thence to Quito.

The bay of Manta was formerly remarkable for a considerable pearl fishery, but it has been discontinued for some time. The bay has probably its name from the great quantity of mantas in those parts; the Indian inhabitants being chiefly employed in taking that fish, which they salt, and carry to the inland provinces. Europeans cannot help admiring their dexterity in this kind of fishery, which they carry on in the following manner: They throw into the water a log of wood, such as they use in making a balza, being about five or six

yards in length, and near a foot in diameter. This log will be sufficient to support the weight intended, which consists of a net lying across one end of it, and an Indian standing in an erect position on the other. On this tottering vessel, assisted by only a single oar, he puts off to sea, about the distance of half a league, where he shoots his net. Another Indian follows him on a similar log, takes hold of the rope fastened to one end of the net, by which means the whole is expanded, and both the Indians move towards the land, where their partners wait to draw the net on the shore. In this occupation the dexterity and agility of the Indians, in maintaining an equilibrium on the round logs, is truly amazing; for the continual agitation of the sea renders it absolutely necessary for them to be continually changing their position, and making different motions with their bodies; and what still heightens the difficulty is, that the Indian is at the same time obliged to mind both his oar and his net, in drawing it towards the land.

On March 13, they left the bay of Manta, and coasted along shore, within the island de la Plata. On the 18th, they anchored in the mouth of the river Tumbez, where they remained till the 20th; when at six in the morning they got under sail, and on the 25th, at five in the evening, landed at Guiaquil, which stands in 2 deg. 11 min. 21 sec. south latitude. Guiaquil is of considerable extent, taking up, along the banks of the river, from the lower part of the old town to the upper part of the new, a space of near half a league; but the breadth is not at all proportional, every person being fond of having a house near the river. This city is defended by three forts; two on the river near the city, and the third behind it, guarding the entrance of a ravine. These are all built after the modern method of fortification, but before they were erected, it had only a platform, which is still remaining in the old town. All the churches and convents are of wood, except that of St. Domingo, still standing in the old town, which is of stone. Guiaquil contains, in proportion to its dimensions, as many inhabitants as any city in all America; the continual resort of strangers, drawn thither by commerce, contributing

very greatly to increase the number, generally computed at 20,000.

The navigable part of the river of Guiaquil extends from the city to the custom-house at Babahoyo, the place where the goods are landed. This distance is twenty-four leagues and a half; and to Caracol, the landing place in winter, twenty-eight and a half. The borders of this river, together with those of its creeks and canals, are decorated with country seats, and cottages of poor people of all casts, having here both the convenience of fishing and agriculture; and the intermediate space filled with such a variety of thickets, that art would find it difficult to imitate the delightful landscape here exhibited by nature.

The principal and most common materials used in building on these rivers, are canes; these also form the inward parts, as walls, floors, and rails of the stairs. The larger houses differ only in some of the principal pieces, which are of wood. The method of building is, to fix in the earth eight, ten, or twelve pieces of wood, more or less, according to the dimensions of the house, forked at the top, and of a proper length; all the apartments being on the first story, without any ground floor. Beams are then laid across on these forks, at the distance of four or five yards from the ground. On these beams, canes are laid in such a manner as to form a kind of rafters; and over these, boards of the same canes, a foot and a half in breadth, which form as firm and handsome a flooring as if of wood. The partitions of the several apartments are of the same materials; but the outer walls are generally latticed, for the free admission of the air. The principal beams of the roof of large houses are of timber, the rafters of cane, with smaller ones in a transverse direction, and over these vijaua leaves. Thus a house is built with very little expence, though containing all the necessary conveniencies. With regard to the poorer sort, every one's own labour serves to procure him a habitation. The lower part both of these houses, as well as those in the greatest part of the jurisdiction of Guiaquil, are entirely open, without having any fence, except the posts and stanchions by which the building is supported. The ground

floor is wholly useless in the winter, when all the country is turned into mud. Such houses, however, as stand beyond the reach of inundations, have ground floors, furnished like the other apartments.

All the inhabitants have their canoes for passing from one house to another; and are so dexterous in the management of these skiffs, that a little girl ventures alone in a boat so small and slight, that another less skilful would overset in stepping into it.

The increase of fish in this river is greatly hindered by the prodigious numbers of alligators; an amphibious creature, found both in the rivers and the adjacent plains; though it is not often known to go far from the banks of the river. When tired with swimming, they leave the water to bask themselves in the sun, and then appear more like logs of rotten wood, thrown ashore by the current, than living creatures; but upon perceiving any vessel near them, they immediately throw themselves into the water. Some are so large, as to exceed five yards in length. During the time they lie basking on the shore, they keep their huge mouths open, till filled with flies and other insects, when they suddenly shut their jaws, and swallow their prey. Whatever may have been written with regard to the fierceness and rapacity of this animal, our company of artists found, from experience, that they avoid a man; and on the approach of any one, immediately plunge into the water. Its whole body is covered with scales, impenetrable to a musket-ball, unless it happens to hit him in the belly, near the fore legs, the only part vulnerable.

The alligator is an oviparous creature. The female makes a large hole in the sand, near the brink of a river, and there deposits her eggs, which are nearly equal to those of an ostrich, and as white as those of a hen, but much more solid. She generally lays about a hundred, continuing in the same place till they are all deposited, which is a day or two. She then covers them with sand; and the better to conceal them, rolls herself, not only over her precious depositum, but to a considerable distance. After this precaution, she returns to the water, till natural instinct informs her, that it is time to deli-

ver her young from their confinement, when she comes to the spot, followed by the male, and tearing up the sand, begins breaking the eggs, but so carefully that scarce a single one is injured, and a whole swarm of little alligators are seen crawling about. The female then takes them into the water: but the watchful gallinazos, a large bird, very common in these parts, makes use of this opportunity to deprive her of some; and even the male alligator, who indeed comes for no other end, devours what he can, till the female has reached the water with the remainder; for all those which either fall from her back, or do not swim, she herself eats; so that out of such a formidable brood, happily not more than four or five escape.

When these creatures cannot find fish to appease their hunger, they betake themselves to the meadows bordering on the banks of the river, and devour calves and colts; and, in order to be more secure in seizing their prey, take the opportunity of the night, that they may surprise them in their sleep; and it is observed, that those alligators, which have once tasted flesh, become so fond of it as never to take up with fish, but in cases of necessity. Their voracity has often been felt by the boatmen, who, by inconsiderately sleeping with one of their legs or arms hanging over the side of the boat, these animals have seized, and drawn the whole body into the water. The inhabitants of those places where they abound, are very industrious in catching and destroying them. Their usual method is by a casonate, or piece of hard wood, sharpened at both ends, and baited with the lungs of some animal. This casonate they fasten to a thong, the end of which is secured to the shore. The alligator, on seeing the lungs floating on the water, snaps at the bait, and thus both points of the wood enter into his jaws, in such a manner, that he can neither shut nor open his mouth. He is then dragged ashore, where the Indians bait him like a bull, knowing that the greatest damage he can do, is to throw down such as, for want of care or agility, do not keep out of his reach.

As soon as the French and Spanish artists arrived at Guayaquil, the corregidor dispatched a messenger to the magistrate

of Guaranda, that he might order carriages to the port of Caracol, for conveying them and their baggage to the mountains; but the passage being then impracticable, they were obliged to continue at Guiaquil till the summer, when, on receiving advice that the mules provided by that magistrate were on the road to Caracol, they immediately embarked, on the 3d of May, 1736, on board a large chata; and reached that place on the 11th. The tortures they endured on the river, from the mosquitoes, were beyond imagination. The most dismal night they spent in this passage, was when they came to an anchor near a large, handsome house, but uninhabited, for they had no sooner seated themselves in it, than they were attacked on all sides with innumerable swarms of mosquitoes, so that it was impossible for a person susceptible of feeling to be one moment quiet. In short, no expedient was of any use against their numbers. The smoke of the trees they burnt, to disperse these infernal insects, besides almost choking them, seemed rather to augment than diminish their multitudes.

At day-break, they could not without concern look upon each other; their faces were swelled, and their hands covered with painful tumours, which sufficiently indicated the condition of the other parts of their bodies, exposed to the attacks of these insects. The following night they took up their quarters in a house inhabited, but not free from mosquitoes, though in much less numbers than before. On informing the host of the deplorable manner in which they had spent the preceding night, he gravely told them, that the house they so greatly complained of, had been forsaken on account of its being the purgatory of a soul: to which one of the company wittily answered, that it was much more natural to think it was forsaken on account of its being a purgatory for the body.

All the road, from Caracol to the Ojibar, is so deep and boggy, that the beasts, at every step, sunk almost up to their bellies; but along the banks of that river, they found it more firm and commodious. The house they lodged in had been for sometime forsaken, like that already mentioned on the Guiaquil river, and was become a nest of mosquitoes of all kinds, so that it was impossible to determine which was the

worst. Some, to avoid the torture of these insects, stripped themselves and went into the river, keeping only their heads above water; but the face, being the only part exposed, was immediately covered with them, so that those who had recourse to this expedient, were soon forced to deliver up their whole body to these tormenting creatures.

On the 16th, at noon, they passed by a place called Memarumi, or Mother of Stone, where there is an inconceivably beautiful cascade. The rock, from which the water precipitates itself, is nearly perpendicular, and 50 fathoms in height; and on both sides bordered with lofty and spreading trees. The clearness of the fluid dazzles the sight, which is, at the same time, charmed with the lustre of the volume of water formed in its fall; after which it continues its course in a bed along a small descent, and is crossed by a road. From thence they continued their journey, and after crossing the river twice on bridges, but with equal danger as in fording it, they arrived, at two in the evening, at a place called Tarigagua, where they rested in a large structure of timber, covered with vijaua leaves, built for their reception.

At Tarigagua the traveller often sees instances of the effects of two opposite temperatures, in two persons happening to meet, one of them coming from Guiaquil, and the other from the mountains; the latter finds the heat so great, that he is scarce able to bear any clothes, while the former wraps himself up in all the garments he can procure. The one is so delighted with the warmth of the water of the river, that he bathes in it; the other thinks it so cold, that he avoids being spattered by it. Nor is the case very different, even in the same person, who, after a journey to the mountains, is returning to Guiaquil; or vice versa, provided the journey and return be made at the same season of the year.

At a quarter past nine in the morning, they began to ascend the mountain of San Antonio, the foot of which is at Tarigagua, and at one, reached a place called, by the Indians, Guamac, or Cross of Canes, where they halted. The ruggedness of the road from Tarigagua, leading up this mountain, is not easily described. It gave our artists more trouble

and fatigue, besides all the dangers they were every moment exposed to, than all they had experienced in their former journies. In some parts the declivity is so great, that the mules can scarce keep their footing; and in others the acclivity is equally difficult. In many places, the road is so narrow, that the mules have scarce room to set their feet; and in others a continued series of precipices. Besides, these roads, or rather paths, are full of holes, or camelones, near three quarters of a yard deep, in which the mules put their fore and hind-feet; so that sometimes they draw their bellies and rider's legs along the ground. Indeed these holes serve as steps, without which the precipices would be in a great measure impracticable. But should the creature happen to put his foot between two of these holes, or not place it right, the rider falls, and if on the side of the precipice, inevitably perishes.

The manner of descending from these heights is not less difficult and dangerous. The mules themselves are sensible of the caution requisite in these descents; for coming to the top of an eminence, they stop, and having placed their fore-feet close together, as in a posture of stopping themselves, they also put their hinder-feet together, but a little forwards, as if going to lie down.

In this attitude, having, as it were, taken a survey of the road, they slide down with the swiftness of a meteor. All the rider has to do, is to keep himself fast in the saddle, without checking his beast; for the least motion is sufficient to disorder the equilibrium of the mule, in which case, they both unavoidably perish. The address of this creature is here truly wonderful, for in this rapid motion, when they seem to have lost all government of themselves, they follow exactly the different windings of the road, as if they had before accurately reconnoitred, and previously settled in their minds, the route they were to follow, and taken every precaution for their safety amidst so many irregularities.

But the longest practice of travelling these roads, cannot entirely free the mules from a kind of dread or horror, which appears when they arrive at the top of a steep declivity: for they stop without being checked by the rider; and if he inad-

vertently endeavours to spur them on, they continue immovable; nor will they stir from the place till they have put themselves in the above-mentioned posture. Now it is that they seem to be actuated by reason; for they not only attentively view the road, but tremble and snort at the danger; which, if the rider be not accustomed to these emotions, cannot fail of filling him with terrible ideas. The Indians go before, and place themselves along the sides of the mountain, holding by the roots of trees, to animate the beast with shouts, till they at once start down the declivity.

They now began to descend with more ease towards the province of Chimbo, attended by the provincial alcade, and the most eminent persons of the town. After complimenting them in the most cordial manner on their arrival, they proceeded together, and within a league of the town were met by the priest, a Dominican, accompanied by several of his order, and a number of the inhabitants, who also left the town on the same friendly occasion: and, to heighten the ceremony, had brought with them a troop of chalos, or Indian boys. In this manner the cavalcade entered the town, on which all the bells in the place were rung, and every house resounded with the noise of trumpets, tabors, and pipes.

On expressing to the corregidor their surprize at this reception, as a compliment far above their rank, he informed them, that it was not at all singular, being no more than what was commonly practised, when persons of any appearance entered the town; and that there was no small emulation between the several towns in paying those congratulations.

After they had passed the mountains beyond Pucara, the whole country, within the reach of the eye, during a passage of two leagues, was a level and open plain, having neither trees nor mountains; and being covered with fields of wheat, barley, maize, and other grain, naturally gave our artists great pleasure.

The corregidor entertained them in his house at Guaranda till the 21st of the same month, when they continued their journey to Quito; whither they arrived, without meeting with any remarkable occurrences, in a few days. At the extremity

of a spacious plain, called Tura Bamba, stands the city of Quito; on which they entered at five in the evening on the 29th. The president of the province, besides providing apartments for them in the palace of the audencia, entertained them the first three days with great splendour, during which they were visited by the bishop, the auditor, the canons, the regidores, and all other persons of any distinction, who seemed to vie with each other in their civilities.

Our artists found, from accurate observations, that the city of Quito is situated in latitude 0 deg. 13 min. 33 sec. south, and in 298 deg. 15 min. 45 sec. or 61 deg. 44 min. 15 sec. west longitude, from the meridian of Teneriffe. It stands in the inland parts of the continent of South America, and on the eastern skirts of the West Cordillera of the Andes. Its distance from the coast of the South sea is about 35 leagues west. Contiguous to it, on the north-west, are the mountains of Pichincha, not less famous among strangers for their great height, than among the natives for the great riches they are imagined to contain. The city is built on the acclivity of that mountain, and surrounded by others of a middling height, among the breaches, or guaycos, as they are called here, which form the eminences of Pichincha. Some of these breaches are of a considerable depth, and run quite through it, so that great part of the buildings stand upon arches.— This renders the streets irregular, and extremely uneven, some parts of the city being built on the ascents, descents, and summits of the breaches. The city, with regard to magnitude, may be compared to one of the second order in Europe; but the unevenness of its situation is a great disadvantage to its appearance.

The principal square in Quito has four sides, in one of which stands the cathedral, and in the opposite the episcopal palace; the third side is taken up by the town-house; and the fourth by the palace of the audience. It is very spacious, and has in the centre an elegant fountain. The principal streets are paved; but those which are not, are almost impassable after rain, which is here very common. Beside the principal square, there are two others in Quito, and both very

spacious, together with several others that are smaller. In these the greatest part of the convents are situated, and thence make a very handsome appearance; the fronts and portals of those edifices dedicated to religion, being adorned with all the embellishments of architecture, particularly the convent of the Franciscans, which being wholly of free-stone, must have cost an immense sum. The cathedral, besides the richness of its furniture, is splendidly adorned with tapestry hangings and other costly decorations.

The cathedral chapter consists of the bishop, dean, and other dignitaries, who enjoy considerable revenues. This church was erected into a cathedral in 1545, and among other festivals celebrated in it with extraordinary magnificence, are those of Corpus Christi, and the Conception of our Lady; at which all persons of eminence assist. But the singular pomp of the procession of the host in the former, and the dances of the Indians must not be omitted.

A month before the celebration of the feasts, it is customary for the parish priests, throughout the province, to select a number of Indians, who are to be the dancers. These immediately begin to practise the dances they used before their conversion. Their music is the pipe and tabor; and the most extraordinary of their motions are a few awkward capers, little suited to the European taste. Within a few days of the solemnity, they dress themselves in a doublet, shirt, and woman's petticoat, adorned with the utmost finery. Over their stockings they wear a kind of buskins, with a number of bells.— Their faces are covered with a sort of mask formed of various coloured ribbands. Dressed in this fantastical garb, they proudly call themselves angels, spend the day in roving about the streets, and dancing to gain the applause of the ignorant multitude. But what is most surprizing, without any pay or view of interest, they continue this exercise a whole fortnight before the grand festival, and a month after it, regardless of their families, their duties, or themselves. Such are the arts of popery to gain converts, by amusing weak minds with unmeaning shows and ridiculous ceremonies. The Indian con-



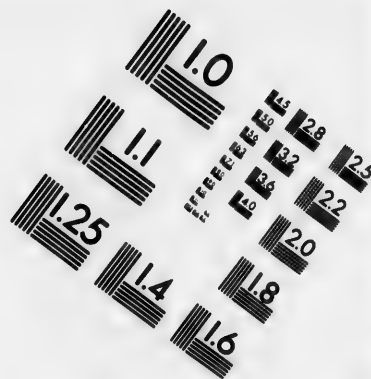
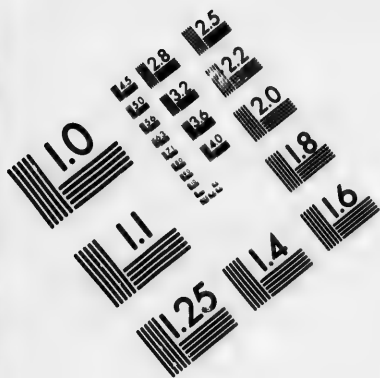
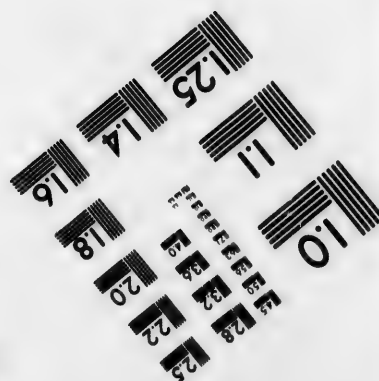
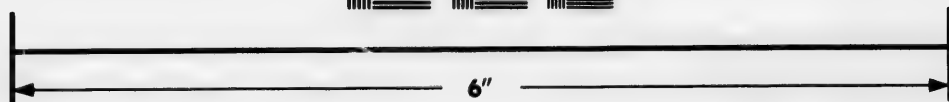
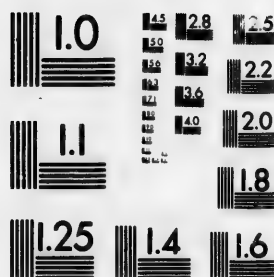


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verts to Christianity, in general, are indulged in all their original absurdities: if they are submissive to the priest, it is enough.

Soon after our artists arrived at Quito, they determined to continue the series of the triangles for measuring an arch of the meridian to the south of that city: the company accordingly divided themselves into two bodies, consisting of French and Spaniards, and each retired to the part assigned them. Don George Juan and M. Godin, who headed one party, went to the mountain of Pambamarca; while M. Bouger, De la Condamine, and Don Ulloa, with their assistants, climbed up to the highest summit of Pichincha.

Both parties suffered extremely from the severity of the cold and the impetuosity of the winds, which, on those heights, blew with incessant violence. Thus, in the torrid zone, nearly under the equinoctial, where it was natural to suppose they had most to fear from the heat, their greatest pain was occasioned by the intensity of the cold.

The first scheme was to pitch a field tent for each company; but on Pichincha, the narrowness of the summit would not admit of this, and the party were obliged to be contented with a hut of the smallest dimensions, so that they could scarcely all creep into it. Their station was on one of the highest crags of a rocky mountain, 100 fathoms above the highest part of the desert of Pichincha. The ascent up this stupendous rock was so craggy, for a considerable way, as only to be climbed on foot; and to perform it, cost them four hours continual labour and pain, from the violent efforts of the body, and the extreme subtilty of the air.

The artists generally kept within their hut, which they were obliged to do, to screen themselves from the severity of the weather. They were involved, likewise, in such a thick fog, that an object at five or six paces was hardly discernible. When at any time the fog cleared up, the clouds below appeared like a vast sea, while they seemed insulated on its centre. In this case, they heard the burst of storms which were discharging themselves on Quito and the neighbouring country:

they saw the lightning issue from the clouds, and heard the thunder rolling far beneath them; and whilst the lower parts were involved in tempests of thunder and rain, they enjoyed a delightful serenity; the wind was abated, the sky clear, and the enlivening rays of the sun moderated the severity of the cold. But when the clouds arose, their density rendered respiration difficult; the snow and hail fell incessantly; and the wind returned with all its violence; so that it was impossible to overcome the apprehension of being blown down the precipice, or of being buried in the daily accumulation of ice and snow.

Sometimes they were alarmed with the loud reports of enormous fragments of rocks tumbling from their beds; and this, in the night-time, was peculiarly awful. The days too were often little better than the nights; and the intervals, when it was possible to pursue their business, were found insufficient to make any progress; but they still persevered, in hopes that the weather might mend.

Their servants and attending Indians were so benumbed with the cold, that it was with great difficulty they would get them to quit their tent, where they kept a continual fire. All that our artists could obtain from them, was to take their turns in the labour; and even then they set about it unwillingly, and performed it very slowly.

It may be easily conceived what this company suffered from the asperities of such a climate. Their feet were swelled and so tender, that they could not even endure the heat of a fire; and walking was attended with extreme pain. Their hands were covered with chilblains; their lips swelled and chopped; and almost every motion, in speaking or eating, drew blood. They were, indeed, little disposed to laugh; but if at any time they did, the extension of the jaws occasioned such fissures as were painful for some days.

Upwards of three weeks our artists spent on this rock; when, at last, despairing of being able to finish their observations of the angles, from the impossibility of seeing their signals from one summit to the other, they descended to a lower situation and a more favourable region. However, they

still retained their former habitation for nearly three months longer; when having completed the observations which particularly concerned Pichincha, they proceeded to others; but with little abatement of either inconvenience, cold, or fatigue; for the places where they made their observations being necessarily on the highest parts of the deserts, the only respite they enjoyed, was in passing from one station to another. After they left Pichincha, each company made use of a field tent, which, though small, was preferable to a hut. At first they pitched their tents in sheltered situations; but afterwards resolving to make them answer the purpose of signals, to save trouble, they removed them to more exposed spots, where the impetuosity of the wind sometimes blew them down.

From what has been observed, it will follow, that to form a right judgment of the happy temperature of the air of Quito, experience must correct the errors which mere speculation would teach; as without that unerring guide, or the evidence of history, who would imagine, that in the centre of the torrid zone, or rather under the equinoctial, the heat is not only very tolerable, but even the cold, in some places, insupportably severe; and that others enjoy all the pleasures and advantages of a constant spring, their fields being covered with perpetual verdure, and enamelled with flowers of the brightest hues? The mildness of the climate, free from the extremes of heat and cold, and the constant equality of the nights and days, render a spot, which the ancients deemed uninhabitable, not only pleasant but fertile. Nature, indeed, has scattered her blessings round Quito with such a liberal hand, that this country surpasses those of the temperate zones, where the vicissitudes of summer and winter, and the transition from heat to cold, cause the extremes of both to be more sensibly felt.

The circumstances which render this country so delightful, arise from an union of different qualities so well blended, that they could not be separated without a painful chasm. The principal circumstance is an elevated situation; and thus, not only the reflection of the heat is diminished, but the winds are more subtle, and congelation more natural. The fertility of this country would appear to many incredible, did not the

consideration of the equality and benignity of the climate enforce its probability. For both the degrees of cold and heat are so happily determined, that the moisture continues, and the earth seldom fails of being cherished by the fertilizing beams of the sun some part of every day. Hence, the fruits and beauties of the several seasons are seen here at one and the same time.

But though this is generally seen, yet there is a settled time for the grand harvest. Still, however, the most favourable season for sowing in one place is a month or two later or earlier than another, though distant only two or three leagues. Thus we sometimes see sowing and reaping going on at once, on different sides of the same hill, or even on the same side, according to elevation, or other natural determining circumstances. Nor is this any contradiction to what has been before advanced, relative to this fruitful and happy climate. The generality of the villages being built on the sides of the mountains, have little regularity. Except the church and parsonage, they are generally constructed of mud.

While the Spanish artists were employed in their mensurations in the province of Quito, they were summoned by the viceroy of Peru to repair immediately to Lima, where their assistance was thought necessary to frustrate the designs of the English; commodore Anson's squadron being then expected in the South seas. They readily obeyed the viceroy's order, and having furnished themselves with necessaries at Quito, they left that city on the 30th of October, determining to proceed by the way of Guaranda and Guayaquil, as being the best road.

They reached Salto on the 7th of November, and in two days more arrived at Tumbes, through a country entirely waste; part of it being overflowed by the tides, and the other part dead sands, which reflect the rays of the sun so intensely, as to render it necessary to perform this journey generally in the night. It would be uninteresting to enumerate all the places they halted at; suffice it to say, that, after a long journey of 264 leagues, they at last entered the city of Lima.

This city stands in the spacious and delightful valley of Rimac, an Indian word, which the Spaniards have corruptly changed into Lima. The original is derived from the name of an idol, to which the native Indians used to offer sacrifice; and, as it was supposed to return answers to the prayers addressed to it, they called it, by way of eminence, Rimac, or he who speaks. Lima, according to the most accurate observations, stands in 12 deg. 2 min. 3 sec. south latitude, and 60 deg. 32 min. 58 sec. west longitude from the meridian of Teneriffe. Its situation is one of the most advantageous that can be conceived, lying in a spacious valley, and at a proper distance, towards the north, bounded by the Cordillera des Andes, from whence some hills project into the valley. The river of the same name washes the walls, and when not increased by the torrents from the mountains, is easily fordable. However, it has an elegant stone bridge over it, having at one extremity a gate of the finest architecture. This gate conducts to the grand square, which is very large and superb.

The form of the city is triangular, the base, or longest side, extending along the banks of the river. Its length is two-thirds of a league, and its greatest breadth two-fifths. It is surrounded by a brick-wall, which answers its original intention, but possesses no regularity. The streets are paved, and lined by canals, which, being arched over, contribute to its cleanliness, without any inconvenience. The houses for the most part are low, but commodious, and make a good appearance. They are all constructed in such a manner, and of such materials, as may best enable them to support the shocks of the earthquakes to which this city is so much devoted.—These are the most dreadful disasters which attend Lima and the neighbouring country. So sudden and violent are these concussions of nature, that the interval between them is never of sufficient length to obliterate the remembrance of their tremendous consequences.

The earthquakes, however, though sudden, have their presages; one of which is a rumbling noise in the bowels of the earth, about a minute before the shock is felt, which seems to

pervade all the adjacent subterraneous parts. This is followed by the dismal howlings of dogs, which seem to have the first perception of the impending danger. On these alarms, the terrified inhabitants fly from their houses into the streets with such precipitation, that if the calamity happens in the night, they appear quite naked. Nor does their terror end with the first shock, none venturing to return to their houses, even if they escape the first attack, lest a repetition should again involve them in greater calamity. One of the most dreadful concussions of nature, felt by this unfortunate city, happened on the 20th of October, 1687.

Another still more dreadful in its consequences, overtook it on the 28th of October, 1746, at half-past ten at night. In little more than three minutes, the greatest part of the buildings of every description was destroyed, burying under the ruins all those who had not been able to escape into the streets and squares; the only places of safety in these terrible convulsions. The fort of Callao, at the very same hour, sunk into similar ruins; but what it suffered from the earthquake in its buildings was trivial, compared to the catastrophe which ensued. The sea, receding to a considerable distance, returned in mountainous waves, foaming with the violence of the agitation, and instantly converted Callao into a sea; nothing remaining, except a piece of the wall of the fort of Santa Cruz, as a memorial of this terrible devastation. At that moment 23 ships, of different descriptions, were riding in the harbour; nineteen of which were absolutely sunk, and the other four, among which was the St. Fermin frigate, were carried, by the irresistible force of the waves, a considerable way up the country. This terrible inundation extended to other ports along the coast, which underwent the same fate as Lima. The number of inhabitants who perished in that city amounted to 1,300, besides the maimed and wounded. At Callao, whose population was estimated at 4,000, only 200 escaped; and twenty-two of these by means of the wall already mentioned.

From these horrible visitations, added to its never raining, the reader would naturally be led to think, that the country must of necessity be totally barren; the contrary, however, is

the fact; for Lima enjoys an enviable fertility; and art and nature unite to supply that moisture which the clouds seem to withhold.

During our artists stay at Lima, they laboured incessantly to put the country into the best posture of defence, in case the English should invade it. At the same time four men of war was sent to cruize off the coast of Chili, and to visit the island of Juan Fernandez, in order to attack the English squadron, on its first appearance in the South seas; but, happily, the Spaniards left the island only a few days before commodore Anson's arrival, which fortunate incident prevented his falling into their hands; as his men were too much afflicted with the scurvy, to be able to make any resistance in case of an attack. The Spaniards returned to Callao, without receiving the least information of any foreign ships having been seen in those seas; and immediately resumed their unfinished mensuration of an arch of the meridian. Before they had completed their work, an express arrived at Quito, with the particulars of the success of the English on these coasts, and that they had sacked the town of Paita. Our artists therefore immediately returned to Lima, where they received the command of two frigates, fitted out to cruize on the coast of Chili.

Chili is celebrated for its fertility. Its plains, eminences, vallies, in short the whole kingdom, is an object of admiration; for such is the exuberant fruitfulness of the soil, that every particle of it seems to teem with vegetable life. In consequence of this, agriculture is one of the most beneficial employments. This kingdom abounds likewise in mines of all kinds, particularly in those of gold and copper.

Soon after our artists arrived in the bay of Concepcion, they joined the *Esperanza*, a Spanish man of war, commanded by Don Pedro Mendinueta, who had found means to double cape Horn and reach this port. Being quickly joined by admiral Pizarro, who took upon him the command of the squadron, they sailed for Valparaiso, where they found the *Louis Erasmé*, *Notre Dame de la Deliverance*, and the *Lys*, French vessels, which having been freighted as register ships, had touched there to vend their cargoes. The whole fleet now

sailed for Juan Fernandez, and thence to Callao, where they arrived on the 24th of June.

Our artists once more returned to Quito where they finished their measurements, and then proceeded to Lima, in order to obtain a passage for Spain. At Callao, however, they fell in with the *Deliverance* and *Lys*, preparing to sail for Europe. This was an opportunity not to be omitted; and accordingly Don George Juan embarked in the latter, and Don Antonio de Ulloa in the latter.

They left Callao on the 22d of November, and were soon joined by the *Louis Erasme* and the *Marquis d'Antin*; but the *Lys* springing a leak was obliged to return. The rest of the squadron, however, had the good fortune to double cape Horn without meeting with the violent storms so frequently fatal to mariners in those latitudes. Having taken in supplies and repaired their shattered ships in the road of Fernando de Narona, on the coast of Brazil, on the 10th of June, 1744, they again set sail, and flattered themselves that the danger of the voyage was now at an end. But on the 21st of July, they discovered two sail within three leagues of them, and soon approaching within cannon-shot, the strangers hoisted English colours and formed their line, while the French, though little in a condition for fighting, likewise prepared for action.

The enemy, who afterwards proved to be privateers, were considerably superior in force. They were named the *Prince Frederic*, captain Talbot; and the *Duke*, captain Morecock. After a short contest, the *Marquis d'Antin* struck, after losing her captain, and receiving several shots between wind and water. The captain of the *Deliverance*, the headmost ship, seeing one of his consorts taken, prudently crowded sail and endeavoured to escape, while the *Louis Erasme* did the same. However the latter was soon obliged to yield; and while the privateers were occupied with each a prize, the *Deliverance* had the good fortune to escape.

The captain of the *Deliverance* began to felicitate himself on his fortune; and consulting with his officers what course

was most adviseable to steer, one of them, acquainted with Louisbourg, recommended that port, which being the shortest navigation, the captain yielded to his suggestions, after the plan had been approved of both by the officers and the passengers.

On the 13th of August, they saw a brigantine plying in for Louisbourg, on which the *Deliverance* hoisted French colours, which was answered by the other firing two or three of her guns. This, however, occasioned no uneasiness; and in a short time, two men of war coming out of the harbour, still they supposed these might belong to a squadron of their country's ships, guarding that important place; and that the brigantine might be some privateer, with a design on the fishery. And here the reader's imagination will picture the complacency and joy which filled every heart, when they fancied themselves approaching the end of all their disasters; and the keen disappointment they felt, when their visionary schemes of delight ended in the real miseries of captivity—for the place was then in the hands of the English; and they found it impossible to fight or fly. The brigantine, which carried 50 guns, took possession of the *Deliverance*, and carried a very rich prize into port, while the two men of war, which were the *Sunderland* and the *Chester*, were ready to have yielded any requisite assistance.

Our author informs us, that all his secret papers were formed into a packet, and that he had given orders, that in case he should suddenly fall in any action, to have them thrown into the sea. When therefore it was found impracticable to escape, he threw the packet, loaded with bullets, into the sea himself; but all the papers relative to the mensuration of the degrees of the meridian, together with the physical and astronomical observations, he saved; knowing that their contents were of universal concern, and that no national injury could be sustained from their inspection. But fearing lest they should be abused or confounded with others of less importance, he thought proper to acquaint the English captains on what service he had been employed, and recommended his manuscripts to their care.

Don Ulloa being sent to England, was confined at Fareham, a pleasant village at the bottom of Portsmouth harbour. 'And here,' says he, 'I must not omit the courtesy and generosity of captain Brett of the Sunderland, to all the prisoners of any rank, whom he not only admitted to his own table, but prevailed on the other officers to follow his good example; and who seemed to vie in civility towards us, and humanity towards the common men, sparing for nothing to alleviate our misfortunes.'

Our author was committed to the care of Mr. Brookes, commissary for French prisoners, and paints his gratitude to him and to Mr. Rickman who acted in the same capacity for the Spaniards, in the most glowing colours. By the assistance of these gentlemen he was enabled to present a petition to the duke of Bedford, then first lord of the admiralty, to obtain his papers; and the answer returned was honourable to Englishmen—they gave Ulloa to understand, that they were not at war with the arts and sciences, or their professors; that the British cultivated them, and that it was the glory of its ministers and great men to encourage and protect them. Soon after our author obtained permission to repair to London, that he might renew his solicitations with greater ease and effect. Here he met with the most distinguished attention from the great and the learned; and acknowledges his sense of the kindnesses he received in a manner that shews he deserved them.

His papers having been examined by Mr. Folkes, president of the Royal Society, who made a very favourable report, they were immediately delivered up to him; and as a more illustrious testimony of esteem, he was admitted into the Royal Society, as a reward for what he had done in the service of mankind, by contributing to the improvement of science.

Don Ulloa, in summing up the favours received, gives this brilliant testimony to the national credit: 'Actions like these,' says he, 'convinced me of the sincerity of the English, their benevolence, and disinterested complaisance. I observed the tempers, customs, government, and police of this praise-wor-

thy nation, which, in its æconomical conduct, and social virtues, may serve as a pattern to the rest of the world.'

Being next presented with his liberty, which had been granted him on his first solicitation, our author embarked at Falmouth in the packet boat, and reached Madrid on the 26th of July, 1746.

Soon after his arrival, his sovereign ordered his papers to be published under his own patronage: and, from the authentic memoirs with which he favoured the world, the preceding pages have been compiled. We wish it always fell to our lot to record labours so meritorious, and to select from materials so interesting and correct.

THE
VOYAGES AND ADVENTURES

OF

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

THIS celebrated English navigator, and brave naval officer, was the son of Edmund Drake, a clergyman, and was born at a village near Tavistock in Devonshire, in the year 1545. He was the eldest son of twelve brethren, and the father being distressed by so large a family, captain Hawkins, his mother's relation (afterwards the famous admiral Sir John Hawkins) kindly took him under his patronage, and gave him an education suitable to the sea service. Through the interest of his patron, at the age of eighteen, he was made purser of a ship trading to the bay of Biscay. At twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea; at the age of twenty-two, he was appointed captain of the *Judith*; and, in that capacity, he was in the harbour of St. Juan de Ulloa, in the gulf of Mexico; where he behaved very gallantly in the glorious action under Sir John Hawkins; and returned to England with a rising reputation, but totally destitute, having lost the little property he had acquired in his former station, by this unfortunate expedition, in consequence of the treachery of the Spaniards.

Soon after this, he conceived a design of making reprisals on the king of Spain; which, according to some, was put into his head by the chaplain of the ship; and, indeed, the case was clear in sea-divinity, says Dr. Campbell, 'that the subjects of the king of Spain had undone Mr. Drake; and therefore he was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on them in return.' This doctrine, however roughly preached,

was very taking in England; and, therefore, no sooner did he publish his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though not actuated by the same motives, and without any such pretence to colour their proceedings as he had.

In 1570, he made his first voyage with two ships, the *Dragon* and the *Swan*; and the next year, in the *Swan* alone: from which last expedition he returned safe, if not rich. Though we have no particular account of these two voyages, or what Drake performed in them, yet nothing is clearer than that captain Drake had two points in view. The one was, to inform himself perfectly of the situation and strength of some places of the Spanish West Indies; the other, to convince his countrymen, that, notwithstanding what had happened to captain Hawkins, in his last voyage, it was a thing very practicable to sail into these parts, and return in safety. For it is to be observed, that Hawkins and Drake separated in the West Indies; and that the former finding it impossible to bring all the crew home to England, had set part of them, with their own consent, ashore in the bay of Mexico; and, indeed, few of these finding their way home, the terror of such a captivity as they were known to endure had disheartened our seamen. But captain Drake, in these two voyages, having very wisely avoided coming to blows with the Spaniards, and bringing home sufficient returns to satisfy his owners, dissipated these apprehensions, and established his own character: so that, at his return from his second voyage, he found it no difficult matter to raise such a force as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own mind, which otherwise he would never have been able to effect.

Without loss of time, therefore, he laid the plan of a more important design; which he put in execution on the 25th of March, 1572: for, on that day, he sailed from Plymouth, in a ship called the *Pascha*, burden 70 tons; and his brother, John Drake, in the *Swan*, of 25 tons; their whole strength consisting of only 73 men and boys. But they were all provided with ammunition and provisions, and in case of an acci-

dent happening to either of the ships, or an occasion presenting of approaching nearer to any place, than the ships could lie, they had three pinnaces on board, framed and fitted in such a dextrous manner, that they could easily be put together, by the ships' carpenters, when wanted.

The wind continuing favourable, they entered, June the 29th, between Guadaloupe and Dominica, and on the 6th of July saw the high-land of Santa Martha; then continuing their course, after having been becalmed for some time, they arrived at port Pheasant, so named by Drake in a former voyage, to the east of Nombre de Dios. Here he proposed to build his pinnaces, and was going ashore with a few men unarmed, but, discovering a smoke at a distance, ordered the other boat to follow him with a greater force. Then marching towards the fire, which was in the top of a high tree, he found a plate of lead nailed to another high tree, with an inscription engraved upon it by one Garret, an Englishman, who had left that place but five days before, and had taken this method of informing him that the Spaniards had been advertised of his intention to anchor at that place, and that it therefore would be prudent to make a very short stay there.

But Drake knowing how convenient this place was for his designs, and considering that the hazard and waste of time which could not be avoided in seeking another station, was equivalent to any other danger which was to be apprehended by the Spaniards, determined to follow his first resolution; only, for his greater security, he ordered a kind of palisade, or fortification, to be made, by felling large trees, and laying the trunks and branches one upon another by the side of the river.

On July 20, having built their pinnaces, and being joined by one captain Rawse, who happened to touch at the same place with a bark of 50 men, they set sail towards Nombre de Dios; and, taking two frigates at the island of Pines, were informed, by the negroes which they found in them, that the inhabitants of that place were in expectation of some soldiers, which the governor of Panama had promised, to defend them from the Symcerons, or fugitive negroes, who, having escaped

from the tyranny of their masters in great numbers, had settled themselves under two kings, or leaders, on each side of the way between Nombre de Dios and Panama, and not only asserted their natural right to liberty and independence, but endeavoured to revenge the cruelties they had suffered, and had lately put the inhabitants of Nombre de Dios into the utmost consternation. These negroes the captain set on shore on the main land, so that they might, by joining the Symeons, recover their liberty, or at least might not have it in their power to give the people of Nombre de Dios any speedy information of his intention to invade them.

Then selecting fifty-three men from his own company, and twenty from the crew of his new associate captain Rause, he embarked with them in his pinnaces, and set sail for Nombre de Dios.

On July the 28th, at night, he approached the town undiscovered, and dropped his anchors under the shore, intending, after his men were refreshed, to begin the attack; but finding that they were terrifying each other with formidable accounts of the strength of the place, and the multitude of the inhabitants, he determined to hinder the panic from spreading farther, by leading them immediately to action; and therefore ordering them to their oars, he landed without any opposition, there being only one gunner upon the bay, though it was secured with six brass cannons of the largest size ready mounted. But the gunner, while they were throwing the cannons from their carriages alarmed the town, as they soon discovered, by the bell, the drums, and the noise of the people.

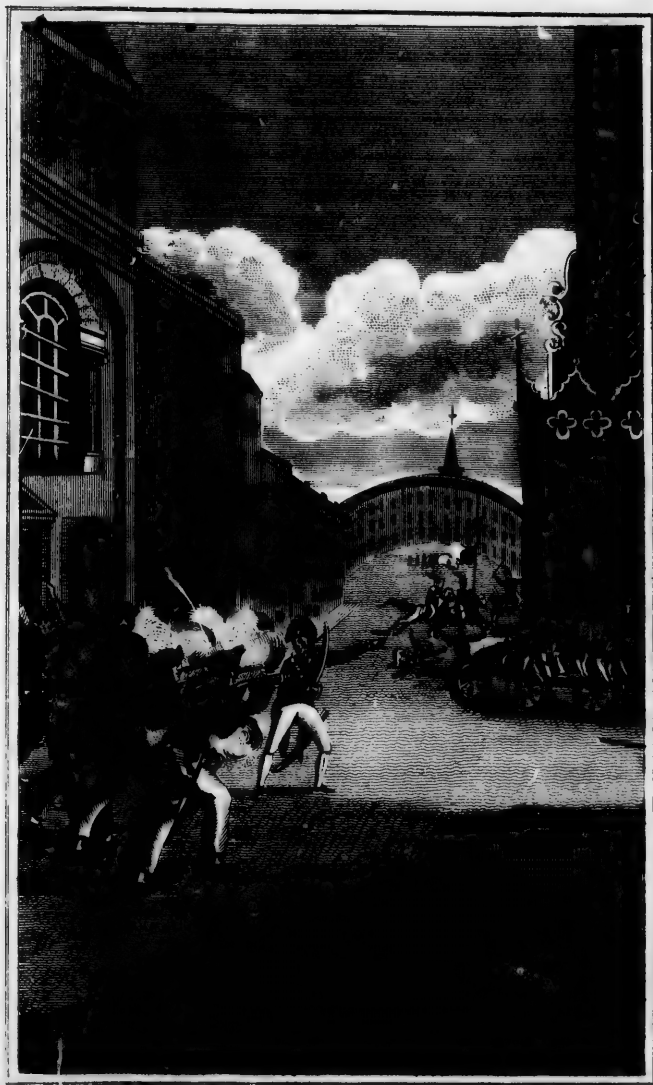
Drake leaving twelve men to guard the pinnaces, marched round the town with no great opposition, the men being more hurt by treading on the weapons left on the ground by the flying enemy, than by the resistance which they encountered. At length having taken some of the Spaniards, Drake commanded them to shew him the governor's house, where the mules that bring the silver from Panama were unloaded; there they found the door open, and entering the room where the silver was repositied, found it heaped up in bars in such quan-

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The Town of Nombre de Dios taken by Sir Francis Drake.

Published by Mackenzie & Dent.

ties as almost exceed belief, the pile being, they conjectured, 70 feet in length, 10 in breadth, and 12 in height, each bar weighing between 30 and 45 pounds.

It is easy to imagine that, at the sight of this treasure, nothing was thought on by the English, but by what means they might best convey it to their boats; and doubtless it was not easy for Drake, who, considering their distance from the shore, and the numbers of their enemies, was afraid of being intercepted in his retreat, to hinder his men from encumbering themselves with so much silver as might have retarded their march, and obstructed the use of their weapons; however, by promising to lead them to the king's treasure-house, where there was gold and jewels to a far greater value, and where the treasure was not only more portable, but nearer the coast, he persuaded them to follow him, and rejoin the main body of his men then drawn up under the command of his brother in the market-place.

Here he found his little troop much discouraged by the imagination, that if they staid any longer, the enemy would gain possession of their pinnaces, and that they should then, without any means of safety, be left to stand alone against the whole power of that country. Drake, not indeed easily terrified, but sufficiently cautious, sent to the coast, to inquire the truth, and see if the same terror had taken possession of the men whom he had left to guard his boats; but, finding no foundation for these dreadful apprehensions, he persisted in his first design, and led the troop forward to the treasure-house. In their way there fell a violent shower of rain, which wet some of their bow-strings, and extinguished many of their matches; a misfortune which might soon have been repaired, and which perhaps the enemy might suffer in common with them, but which however on this occasion very much embarrassed them, as the delay produced by it repressed that ardour which sometimes is only to be kept up by continual action, and gave time to the timorous and slothful to spread their insinuations, and propagate their cowardice. Some, whose fear was their predominate passion, were continually magnifying the numbers and courage of their enemies, and represented whole

nations as ready to rush upon them; others, whose avarice mingled with their concern for their own safety, were more solicitous to preserve what they had already gained, than to acquire more; and others, brave in themselves, and resolute, began to doubt of success in an undertaking in which they were associated with such cowardly companions. So that scarcely any man appeared to proceed in their enterprize with that spirit and alacrity which could give Drake a prospect of success.

This he perceived, and with some emotion told them, that if, after having had the chief treasure of the world within their reach, they should go home and languish in poverty, they could blame nothing but their own cowardice; that he had performed his part, and was still desirous to lead them on to riches and to honour.

Finding that either shame or conviction made them willing to follow him, he ordered the treasure-house to be forced, and commanding his brother, and Oxenham of Plymouth, a man known afterwards for his bold adventures in the same parts, to take charge of the treasure, he commanded the other body to follow him to the market-place, that he might be ready to oppose any scattered troops of the Spaniards, and hinder them from uniting into one body.

But as he stepped forward, his strength failed him on a sudden, and he fell down speechless. Then it was that his companions perceived a wound in his leg, which he had received in the first encounter, but hitherto concealed, lest his men, easily discouraged, should make their concern for his life a pretence for returning to their boats. Such had been the loss of blood, as was discovered upon nearer observation, that it had filled the prints of his footsteps, and it appeared scarce credible that after such an effusion of blood, life should remain.

The bravest were now willing to retire: neither the desire of honour nor of riches was thought enough to prevail in any man over his regard for his leader. Drake, whom cordials had now restored to his speech, was the only man who could not be prevailed on to leave the enterprize unfinished. It was

to no purpose that they advised him to submit to go on board to have his wound dressed, and promised to return with him, and complete their design; he well knew how impracticable it was to regain the opportunity when it was once lost, and could easily foresee that a respite, of but a few hours, would enable the Spaniards to recover from their consternation, to assemble their forces, refit their batteries, and remove their treasure. What he had undergone so much danger to obtain was now in his hands; and the thought of leaving it untouched was too mortifying to be patiently borne.

However, as there was little time for consultation, and the same danger attended their stay in that perplexity and confusion, as their return, they bound up his wound with his scarf, and partly by force, partly by intreaty, carried him to the boats, in which they all embarked by break of day. Then taking with them, out of the harbour, a ship loaded with wines, they went to the Bastimentes, an island about a league from the town, where they staid two days, to repose the wounded men, and to regale themselves with the fruits which grew in great plenty in the gardens of that island.

During their stay here, there came over from the main land a Spanish gentleman, sent by the governor, with instructions to enquire whether the captain was that Drake who had been before on their coast; whether the arrows with which many of their men were wounded were not poisoned, and whether they wanted provisions or other necessaries. The messenger likewise extolled their courage with the highest encomiums, and expressed his admiration of their daring undertaking. Drake, though he knew the civilities of an enemy are always to be suspected, and that the messenger, amidst all his professions of regard, was no other than a spy, yet knowing that he had nothing to apprehend, treated him with the highest honours that his condition would admit of. In answer to his inquiries, he assured him that he was the same Drake with whose character they were before acquainted, that he was a rigid observer of the laws of war, and never permitted his arrows to be poisoned; he then dismissed him with considerable presents, and told him that, though he had unfortunately

failed in this attempt, he would never desist from his design, till he had shared with Spain the treasures of America.

They then resolved to return to the isle of Pines, where they had left their ships, and consult about the measures they were now to take, and having arrived, August 1, at their former station, they dismissed captain Rause, who judging it unsafe to stay any longer on the coast, desired to be no longer engaged in their designs.

But Drake, not to be discouraged from his purpose by a single disappointment, after having enquired of a negro, whom he took on board at Nombre de Dios, the most wealthy settlements, and weakest parts of the coast, resolved to attack Carthagena; and setting sail without loss of time, came to anchor, August 13, between Charesha and St. Barnard's, two islands at a little distance from the harbour of Carthagena: then, passing with his boats round the island, he entered the harbour, and in the mouth of it found a frigate with only an old man in it, who voluntarily informed them, that about an hour before a pinnace had passed by with sails and oars, and all the appearance of expedition and importance; that, as she passed, the crew on board her bid them take care of themselves: and that, as soon as she touched the shore, they heard the noise of cannon fired as a warning, and saw the shipping in the port drawn up under the guns of the castle.

The captain, who had himself heard the discharge of the artillery, was soon convinced that he was discovered, and that therefore nothing could be attempted with any probability of success. He therefore contented himself with taking a ship of Seville, of 240 tons, which the relater of this voyage mentions as a very large ship, and two small frigates, in which he found letters of advice from Nombre de Dios, intended to alarm that part of the coast.

Drake now finding his pinnaces of great use, and not having a sufficient number of sailors for all his vessels, was desirous of destroying one of his ships, that his pinnaces might be better manned: this, necessary as it was, could not easily be done without disgusting his company, who having made several prosperous voyages in that vessel, would be unwilling to

have it destroyed. Drake well knew that nothing but the love of their leaders could animate his followers to encounter such hardships as he was about to expose them to, and therefore rather chose to bring his designs to pass by artifice than authority. He sent for the carpenter of the Swan, took him into his cabin, and, having first engaged him to secrecy, ordered him in the middle of the night to go down into the well of the ship, and bore three holes through the bottom, laying something against them that might hinder the bubbling of the water from being heard. To this the carpenter, after some expostulation, consented, and the next night performed his promise.

In the morning, August 15, Drake going out with his pinnace a fishing, rowed up to the Swan, and having invited his brother to partake of his diversions, inquired, with a negligent air, why their bark was so deep in the water; upon which the steward going down, returned immediately with an account that the ship was leaky, and in danger of sinking in a little time. They had recourse immediately to the pump: but, having laboured till three in the afternoon, and gained very little upon the water, they willingly, according to Drake's advice, set the vessel on fire, and went on board the pinnaces.

Finding it now necessary to lie concealed for some time, till the Spaniards should forget their danger, and remit their vigilance, they set sail for the sound of Darien; and without approaching the coast, that their course might not be observed, they arrived there in six days. This being a convenient place for their reception, both on account of privacy, as it was out of the road of all trade, and as it was well supplied with wood, water, wild fowl, hogs, deer, and all kinds of provisions, he staid here fifteen days to clean his vessels, and refresh his men, who worked interchangeably, on one day the one half and on the next the other.

On the 5th of September, Drake left his brother with the ship at Darien, and set out with two pinnaces towards the Rio Grande, which it reached in three days, and on the ninth were discovered by a Spaniard from the bank, who believing them to be his countrymen, made a signal to them to come on

shore, with which they very readily complied; but he soon finding his mistake, abandoned his plantation, where they found great plenty of provisions, with which having laden their vessels, they departed. So great was the quantity of provisions which they amassed here and in other places, that in different parts of the coast they built four magazines or store-houses, which they filled with necessaries for the prosecution of their voyage. These they placed at such a distance from each other, that the enemy, if he should surprise one, might yet not discover the rest.

In the mean time, his brother captain John Drake went, according to the instructions that had been left him, in search of the Symérons, or fugitive negroes, from whose assistance alone they had now any prospect of a successful voyage: and touching upon the main land, by means of the negroe whom they had taken from Nombre de Dios, engaged two of them to come on board his pinnace, leaving two of their own men as hostages for their returning. These men, having assured Drake of the affection of their nation, appointed an interview between him and their leaders. So leaving port Plenty, in the isle of Pines, so named by the English from the great stores of provisions which they had amassed at that place, they came, by the direction of the Symérons, into a secret bay among beautiful islands covered with trees, which concealed their ship from observation, and where the channel was so narrow and rocky, that it was impossible to enter it by night; so that there was no danger of a sudden attack.

Here Drake left part of his company till the rains were past, and on the 16th of October, sailed to Carthagena with three pinnaces; but, finding the country advertized of his attempts, and in arms to oppose him, he determined to return to his depot, after having taken several valuable prizes.

When they arrived at port Diego, so named from the negro who had procured them their intercourse with the Symérons, they found captain John Drake and one of his company dead, being killed in attempting, almost unarmed, to board a frigate well provided with all things necessary for its defence. The captain was unwilling to attack it, and represented to them

the madness of their proposal; but, being overborne by their clamours and importunities, to avoid the imputation of cowardice, complied to his destruction. So dangerous is it for the chief commander to be absent. Nor was this their only misfortune; for in a very short time many of them were attacked by the calenture, a malignant fever, very frequent in the hot climates, which carried away, among several others, Joseph Drake, another brother of the commander.

While Drake was employed in taking care of the sick men, the Symérons, who ranged the country for intelligence, brought him an account, that the Spanish fleet was arrived at Nombre de Dios, the truth of which was confirmed by a pinnacle, which he sent out to make observations. This, therefore, was the time for their journey, when the treasures of the American mines were to be transported from Panama, over land to Nombre de Dios. He therefore by the direction of the Symérons, furnished himself with all things necessary, and on the 3d of February set out from port Diego.

Having lost already twenty-eight of his company, and being under the necessity of leaving some to guard his ships, he took with him only 18 English, and 30 Symérons, who not only served as guides to shew the way, but as purveyors to procure provisions. Every day, by sun-rising, they began to march; and, having travelled till ten, rested near some river till twelve, then travelling again till four, they reposed all night in houses, which the Symérons had either left standing in their former marches, or very readily erected for them, by setting up three or four posts in the ground, and laying poles from one to another in form of a roof, which they thatched with palmetto boughs and plantane leaves. In the vallies, where they were sheltered from the winds, they left three or four feet below open; but on the hills, where they were more exposed to the chill blasts of the night, they thatched them close to the ground, leaving only a door for entrance, and a vent in the middle of the room for the smoke of three fires, which they made in every house.

On February 11, they arrived at the top of a very high hill, on the summit of which grew a tree of wonderful great-

ness, in which they had cut steps for the more easy ascent to the top, where there was a kind of tower, to which they invited Drake, and from thence shewed him not only the North sea, from whence they came, but the great South sea, on which no English vessel had ever sailed. This prospect exciting his natural curiosity and ardour for adventures and discoveries, he lifted up his hands to God, and implored his blessing upon the resolution, which he then formed, of sailing in an English ship on that sea.

At length, being within view of Panama, they left all frequented roads, for fear of being discovered, and posted themselves in a grove near the way between Panama and Nombre de Dios: then they sent a Symeron in the habit of a negro of Panama, to enquire on what night the recoes, or drivers of mules, by which the treasure is carried, were to set forth. The messenger was so well qualified for his undertaking, and so industrious in the prosecution of it, that he soon returned with an account that the treasurer of Lima, intending to return to Europe, would pass that night, with eight mules laden with gold, and one with jewels.

Having received this information, they immediately marched towards Venta Cruz, the first town on the way to Nombre de Dios, sending, for security, two Symerons before, who, as they went, perceived by the scent of a match that some Spaniard was before them, and going silently forwards, surprized a soldier asleep upon the ground. They immediately bound him, and brought him to Drake, who, upon enquiry, found that their spy had not deceived them in his intelligence. The soldier having informed himself of the captain's name, conceived such a confidence in his well known clemency, that, after having made an ample discovery of the treasure that was now at hand, he petitioned not only that he would command the Symerons to spare his life, but that, when the treasure should fall into his hands, he would allow him as much as might maintain him and his mistress, since they were about to gain more than their whole company could carry away.

Drake then ordered his men to lie down in the long grass, about fifty paces from the road, half on one side, with him-

self, and half on the other, with Oxenham, and the captain of the Symerons, so much behind, that one company might seize the foremost recoe, and the other the hindermost; for the mules of these recoes, or drivers, being tied together, travel on a line, and are all guided by leading the first.

When they had lain about an hour in this place, they began to hear the bells of the mules on each hand; upon which orders were given, that the drove which came from Venta Cruz should pass unmolested, because they carried nothing of great value, and those only be intercepted which were traveling thither, and that none of the men should rise up till the signal should be given. But one Robert Pike, heated with strong liquor, left his company and prevailed upon one of the Symerons to creep with him to the way side, that they might signalize themselves by seizing the first mule, and hearing the trampling of a horse, as he lay, could not be restrained by the Symeron from rising up to observe who was passing by. This he did so imprudently, that he was discovered by the passenger, for by Drake's order the English had put their shirts on over their coats, that the night and tumult might not hinder them from knowing one another.

The gentleman was immediately observed by Drake to change his trot into a gallop; but, the reason of it not appearing, it was imputed to his fear of the robbers that usually infest that road, and the English still continued to expect the treasure. In a short time one of the recoes, that were passing towards Venta Cruz, came up, and was eagerly seized by the English, who expected nothing less than half the revenue of the Indies; nor is it easy to imagine their mortification and perplexity when they found only two mules laden with silver, and the rest having no other burthen than provisions.

The driver was brought immediately to the captain, and informed him that the horseman, whom he had observed pass by with so much precipitation, had informed the treasurer of what he had observed, and advised him to send back the mules that carried his gold and jewels, and suffer only the rest to proceed, that he might by that cheap experiment discover whether there was any ambush on the way.

That Drake was not less disgusted than his followers at the disappointment, cannot be doubted; but there was now no time to be spent in complaints. The whole country was alarmed, and all the force of the Spaniards was summoned to overwhelm him. He had no fortress to retire to, every man was his enemy, and every retreat better known to the Spaniards than to himself. This was an occasion that demanded all the qualities of a hero, an intrepidity never to be shaken, and a judgment never to be perplexed. He immediately considered all the circumstances of his present situation, and found that it afforded him only the choice of marching back by the same way through which he came, or of forcing his passage to Venta Cruz.

When they came within a mile of the town, they dismissed the mules which they had made use of for their more easy and speedy passage, and continued their march along a road cut through thick woods, in which a company of soldiers, who were quartered in the place to defend it against the Symérons, had posted themselves, together with a convent of friars headed by one of their brethren, whose zeal against the Northern heresy had incited him to hazard his person, and assume the province of a general.

Drake, who was advertised by two Symérons, whom he sent before, of the approach of the Spaniards, commanded his followers to receive the first volley without firing. In a short time he heard himself summoned by the Spanish captain to yield, with a promise of protection and kind treatment; to which he answered with defiance, contempt, and the discharge of his pistol.

Immediately the Spaniards poured in their shot, by which only one man was killed, and Drake, with some others, slightly wounded; upon which the signal was given by Drake's whistle to fall upon them. The English, after discharging their arrows and shot, pressed furiously forward, and drove the Spaniards before them, which the Symérons, whom the terror of the shot had driven to some distance, observing, and recalling their courage, animated each other with songs in their own language, and rushed forward with such impetuosity,

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that they overtook them near the town, and supported by the English, dispersed them with the loss of only one man, who, after he had received his wound, had strength and resolution left to kill his assailant.

They pursued the enemy into the town, in which they met with some plunder, which was given to the Symérons, and treated the inhabitants with great clemency, Drake himself going to the Spanish ladies to assure them that no injuries should be offered them; so inseparable is humanity from true courage.

Having thus broken the spirits, and scattered the forces of the Spaniards, he pursued his march to his ship, without any apprehension of danger, yet with great speed, being very solicitous about the state of the crew; so that he allowed his men, harassed as they were, but little time for sleep or refreshment, but by kind exhortations, gentle authority, and a cheerful participation of all their hardships, prevailed upon them to bear, without murmurs, not only the toil of travelling, but on some days the pain of hunger.

When they were within five leagues of the ships, they found a town built in their absence by the Symérons, at which Drake consented to halt, sending a Symeron to the ship with his gold tooth-pick as a token, which, though the master knew it, was not sufficient to gain the messenger credit, till upon examination he found that the captain having ordered him to regard no messenger without his handwriting, had engraven his name upon it with the point of his knife. He then sent the pinnacle up the river, which they met, and afterwards sent to the town for those whose weariness had made them unable to march farther. On the 23d of February the whole company was re-united; and Drake, whose good or ill success never prevailed over his piety, celebrated their meeting with thanks to God.

Drake, not yet discouraged, now turned his thoughts to new prospects, and, without languishing in melancholy reflections upon his past miscarriages, employed himself in forming schemes for repairing them. Eager of action, and acquainted with man's nature, he never suffered idleness to infect his fol-

lowers with cowardice, but kept them from sinking under any disappointment by diverting their attention to some new enterprize.

Drake, therefore, manning his two pinnaces, the Bear and the Minion, he sent John Oxenham in the Bear towards Tolon, to seize upon provisions; and went himself in the Minion to the Cabezas, to intercept the treasure that was to be transported from Veragua and that coast to the fleet at Nombre de Dios, first dismissing with presents those Symerons that desired to return to their wives, and ordering those that chose to remain to be entertained in the ship.

Drake on his voyage took a stout vessel which he fitted out for war; and, being joined by the Bear, he sailed towards the Cabezas, where he was joined by a French adventurer with twenty of his men. Having arrived at Rio Francisco, he landed and proceeded through the woods towards Nombre de Dios.

At length, after a laborious march of more than seven leagues, they began to hear the noise of the carpenters in the bay, it being the custom in that hot season to work in the night: and in a short time they perceived the approach of the recoes, or droves of mules from Panama. They now no longer doubted that their labours would be rewarded, and every man imagined himself secure from poverty and labour for the remaining part of his life. They, therefore, when the mules came up, rushed out and seized them, with an alacrity proportioned to their expectations. The three droves consisted of 109 mules, each of which carried 300 pounds weight of silver. It was to little purpose that the soldiers, ordered to guard the treasure, attempted resistance. After a short combat, in which the French captain, and one of the Symerons were wounded, it appeared with how much greater ardour men are animated by interest than fidelity.

As it was possible for them to carry away but a small part of this treasure, after having wearied themselves with hiding it in holes and shallow waters, they determined to return by the same way, and, without being pursued, entered the woods, where the French captain, being disabled by his wound, was

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obliged to stay, two of his company continuing with him. When they had gone forward about two leagues, the Frenchmen missed another of their company, who upon inquiry was known to be intoxicated with wine, and supposed to have lost himself in the woods, by neglecting to observe the guides.

But common prudence not allowing them to hazard the whole company by too much solicitude for a single life, they travelled on towards Rio Francisco, at which they arrived on the 3d of April; but, looking out for their pinnaces, were surprised with the sight of seven Spanish shallops, and immediately concluded that some intelligence of their motions had been carried to Nombre de Dios, and that these vessels had been fitted out to pursue them, which might undoubtedly have overpowered the pinnaces and their feeble crew. Nor did their suspicion stop here; but immediately it occurred to them, that their men had been compelled by torture to discover where their frigate and ship was stationed, which being weakly manned, and without the presence of the chief commander, would fall into their hands almost without resistance, and all possibility of escaping be entirely cut off.

These reflections sunk the whole company into despair; and every one, instead of endeavouring to break through the difficulties that surrounded him, resigned up himself to his ill fortune; when Drake, whose intrepidity was never to be shaken, and whose reason was never to be surprized or embarrassed, ordered his men to make a raft out of the trees that were then floating on the river, offered himself to put off to sea upon it, and cheerfully asked who would accompany him. John Owen, John Smith, and two Frenchmen, who were willing to share his fortune, embarked with him on the raft, which was fitted out with a sail made of a buisquet-sack, and an oar to direct its course instead of a rudder.

Having comforted the rest with assurances of his regard for them, and resolution to leave nothing unattempted for their deliverance, he put off, and after having, with much difficulty, sailed three leagues, descried two pinnaces hasting towards him, which, upon a nearer approach, he discovered to be his own, and perceiving that they anchored behind a

point that jutted out into the sea, he put to shore, and crossing the land on foot, was received by his company with that satisfaction, which is only known to those that have been acquainted with dangers and distresses.

The same night they rowed to Rio Francisco, where they took in the rest, with what treasure they had been able to carry with them through the woods; then sailing back with the utmost expedition, they returned to their frigate, and soon after to their ship, where Drake divided the gold and silver equally between the French and the English.

Here they spent about fourteen days in fitting out their frigate more completely, and then dismissing the Spaniards with their ship, lay a few days among the Cabezas; while 12 English and 16 Symérons travelled once more into the country, as well to recover the French captain, whom they had left wounded, as to bring away the treasure which they had hid in the sands. Drake, whom his company would not suffer to hazard his person in another land expedition, went with them to Rio Francisco, where he found one of the Frenchmen who had staid to attend their captain, and was informed by him, upon his inquiries after his fortune, that half an hour after their separation, the Spaniards came upon them, and easily seized upon the wounded captain; but that his companion might have escaped with him, had he not preferred money to life; for seeing him throw down a box of jewels that retarded him, he could not forbear taking it up, and with that, and the gold which he had already, was so loaded that he could not escape. With regard to the bars of gold and silver, which they had concealed in the ground, he informed them that 2,000 men had been employed in digging for them.

The men, however, either distrusting the informer's veracity, or confident that what they had hidden could not be found, pursued their journey; but upon their arrival at the place, found the ground turned up for two miles round, and were able to recover no more than thirteen bars of silver, and a small quantity of gold. They discovered afterwards that the Frenchman who was left in the woods, falling afterwards into the hands of the Spaniards, was tortured by them till he

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confessed where Drake had concealed his plunder. So fatal to Drake's expedition was the drunkenness of his followers.

Then dismissing the French, they passed by Carthagea with their colours flying, and soon after took a frigate laden with provisions and honey, which they valued as a great restorative, and then sailed away to the Cabezas. Here they staid about a week to clean their vessels, and fit them for a long voyage, determining to set sail for England; and, that the faithful Symérons might not go away unrewarded, broke up the pinnaces, and gave them the iron, the most valuable present in the world, to a nation whose only employments were war and hunting, and amongst whom show and luxury had no place.

Pedro, their captain, being desired by Drake to go through the ship, and to choose what he most desired, fixed his eye upon a scymetar set with diamonds, which the French captain had presented to Drake; and being unwilling to ask for so valuable a present, offered for it four large quoits, or thick plates of gold, which he had hitherto concealed; but Drake, desirous to show him that fidelity is seldom without a recompence, gave it him with the highest professions of satisfaction and esteem. Pedro, receiving it with the utmost gratitude, informed him, that by bestowing it he had conferred greatness and honour upon him; for by presenting it to his king, he doubted not of obtaining the highest rank among the Symérons. He then persisted in his resolution of leaving the gold, which was generously thrown by Drake into the common stock; for he said, that those at whose expences he had been sent out, ought to share in all the gain of the expedition, whatever pretence cavil and chicanery might supply for the appropriation of any part of it. Thus was Drake's character consistent with itself; he was equally superior to avarice and fear, and though whatever danger he might go in quest of gold, he thought it not valuable enough to be obtained by artifice or dishonesty.

They now forsook the coast of America, which for many months they had kept in perpetual alarms, having taken more

than 200 ships of all sizes between Carthagena and Nombre de Dios, of which they never destroyed any, unless they were fitted out against them, nor ever detained the prisoners longer than was necessary for their own security or concealment, providing for them in the same manner as for themselves, and protecting them from the malice of the Symérons; a behaviour which humanity dictates, and which, perhaps, even policy cannot disapprove. He must certainly meet with obstinate opposition who makes it equally dangerous to yield as to resist, and who leaves his enemies no hopes but from victory.

What riches they acquired is not particularly related; but it is not to be doubted, that the plunder of so many vessels, together with the silver which they seized at Nombre de Dios, must amount to a very large sum, though the part that was allotted to Drake was not sufficient to lull him in effeminacy, or to repress his natural inclination to adventures.

They arrived at Plymouth on the 9th of August, 1573, on Sunday, in the afternoon: and so much were the people delighted with the news of their arrival, that they left the preacher, and ran in crowds to the quay with shouts and congratulations.

Drake having, in his former expedition, had a view of the South sea, and formed a resolution to sail upon it, did not suffer himself to be diverted from his design by the prospect of any difficulties that might obstruct the attempt, nor any dangers that might attend the execution; obstacles which brave men often find it much more easy to overcome, than secret envy and domestic treachery.

Whatsoever were his obstacles, and whatsoever the motives that produced them, it was not till the year 1577, that he was able to assemble a force proportioned to his design, and to obtain a commission from the queen, by which he was constituted captain-general of a fleet consisting of five ships, of which the Pelican, admiral, of an 100 tons, was commanded by himself; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, of 80 tons, by John Winter; the Marigold, of 30 tons, by John Thomas; the Swan, 50 tons, by John Chester; the Christopher, of 15 tons,

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by Thomas Moche, the same as it seems, who was carpenter in the former voyage, and who destroyed one of the ships by Drake's direction.

These ships, equipped partly by himself, and partly by other private adventurers, he manned with 164 stout sailors, and furnished with such provisions as he judged necessary for the long voyage in which he was engaged. Nor did he confine his concern to naval stores, or military preparations; but carried with him whatever he thought might contribute to raise in those nations with which he should have any intercourse, the highest ideas of the politeness and magnificence of his native country. He therefore not only procured a complete service of silver for his own table, and furnished the cook-room with many vessels of the same metal, but engaged several musicians to accompany him; rightly judging that nothing would more excite the admiration of any savage and uncivilized people.

Having been driven back by a tempest in their first attempt, and obliged to return to Plymouth to repair the damages which they had suffered, they set sail again from thence on the 13th of December, 1577, and on the 25th had sight of cape Cantire in Barbary, from whence they coasted on southward to the island of Mogadore, which Drake had appointed for the first place of rendezvous, and on the 27th brought the the whole fleet to anchor in a harbour on the main land.

The Moors having seized one of Drake's men, he left this place in disgust, and, having touched at St. Jago, proceeded towards the coast of Brazil. Having spent a fortnight in the river of Plata, to refresh his men after their long voyage, and then standing out to sea, he was again surprized by a sudden storm, in which they had lost sight of the Swan. This accident determined Drake to contract the number of his fleet, that he might not only avoid the inconvenience of such frequent separations, but ease the labour of his men, by having more hands in each vessel.

For this purpose he sailed along the coast in quest of a commodious harbour. But being overtaken by a severe storm, his little fleet was separated. However, the ships were again

re-united in consequence. Drake's skill and unremitting diligence. Having broke up the *Swan* and *Christopher*, he proceeded towards the South sea; and cast anchor in port Julian. Here he landed with some of the chief of his company to seek for water; and was immediately accosted by two natives, of whom Magellan left a very terrible account, having described them as a nation of giants and monsters; nor is his narrative entirely without foundation, for they are of the largest size, though not taller than some Englishmen; their strength is proportioned to their bulk, and their voice loud, boisterous, and terrible.

The two who associated themselves with the English appeared much pleased with their new guests, received willingly what was given them, and very exactly observed every thing that passed, seeming more particularly delighted with seeing *Oliver*, the master-gunner, shoot an English arrow. They shot themselves likewise in emulation, but their arrows always fell to the ground far short of his.

Soon after this friendly contest came another, who observing the familiarity of his countrymen with the strangers, appeared much displeased, and as the Englishmen perceived, endeavoured to dissuade them from such an intercourse. What effect his arguments had was soon apparent, for another of Drake's companions, being desirous to show the third Indian a specimen of the English valour and dexterity, attempted likewise to shoot an arrow, but drawing it with his full force burst the bow-string; upon which the Indians, who were unacquainted with the other weapons, imagined him disarmed, followed the company, as they were walking negligently down towards their boat, and let fly their arrows, aiming particularly at *Winter*, who had the bow in his hand. He finding himself wounded in the shoulder, endeavoured to refit his bow, and turning about was pierced with a second arrow in the breast. *Oliver*, the gunner, immediately presented his piece at the insidious assailants, which failing to take fire gave them time to level another flight of arrows, by which he was killed; nor, perhaps, had any of them escaped, surprized and perplexed as they were, had not Drake, with his usual presence of mind,

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animated their courage, and directing their motions, ordering them, by perpetually changing their places, to elude, as much as they could, the aim of their enemies, and to defend their bodies with their targets; and instructing them, by his own example to pick up, and break the arrows as they fell; which they did with so much diligence, that the Indians were soon in danger of being disarmed. Then Drake himself taking the gun, which Oliver had so unsuccessfully attempted to make use of, discharged it at the Indian that first began the fray, and had killed the gunner, aiming it so happily, that the hail shot, with which it was loaded, tore open his belly, and forced him to such terrible outcries, that the Indians, though their numbers increased, and many of their countrymen shewed themselves from different parts of the adjoining wood, were too much terrified to renew the assault, and suffered Drake, without molestation, to withdraw his wounded friend, who, being hurt in his lungs, languished two days, and then dying, was interred with his companion, with the usual ceremony of a military funeral.

They staid here two months afterwards, without receiving any other injuries from the natives, who finding the danger to which they exposed themselves by open hostilities, and not being able any more to surprize the vigilance of Drake, preferred their safety to revenge.

But Drake had other enemies to conquer or escape far more formidable than these barbarians; and insidious practices to obviate, more artful and dangerous, than the ambushes of the Indians; for in this place was laid open a design formed by one of the gentlemen of the fleet not only to defeat the voyage, but to murder the general.

This transaction is related in so obscure and confused a manner, that it is difficult to form any judgment upon it. The writer who gives the largest account of it, has suppressed the name of the criminal, which we learn, from a more succinct narrative, published in a collection of travels near that time, to have been Thomas Doughtie. What were his inducements to attempt the destruction of his leader, and the ruin of the expedition, or what were his views if his design

had succeeded, what measures he had hitherto taken, whom he had endeavoured to corrupt, with what arts, or what success, we are not told.

The plot, as the narrative assures us, was laid before their departure from England, and discovered, in its whole extent, to Drake himself, in his garden at Plymouth, who nevertheless not only entertained the person so accused as one of his company, but, this writer very particularly relates, treated him with remarkable kindness and regard, setting him always at his own table, and lodging him in the same cabin with himself. Nor did he ever discover the least suspicion of his intentions, till they arrived at this place, but appeared by the authority with which he invested him, to consider him, as one to whom, in his absence, he could most securely entrust the direction of his affairs. At length, in this remote corner of the world, he found out a design formed against his life, called together all his officers, laid before them the evidence on which he grounded the accusation, and summoned the criminal, who, full of all the horrors of guilt, and confounded at so clear a detection of his whole scheme, immediately confessed his crimes, and acknowledged himself unworthy of longer life; upon which the whole assembly, consisting of thirty persons, after having considered the affair with the attention which it required, and heard all that could be urged in extenuation of his offence, unanimously signed the sentence by which he was condemned to suffer death. Drake, however, unwilling, as it seemed, to proceed to extreme severities, offered him his choice, either of being executed on the island, or sent ashore on the main land, or being sent to England to be tried before the council; of which, after a day's consideration, he chose the first; and, as it is related, obstinately deaf to all persuasions, and adhering to his first choice, after having received the communion, and dined cheerfully with the general, was executed in the afternoon with many proofs of remorse, but none of fear.

After the execution of this man, the whole company, either convinced of the justice of the proceeding, or awed by the severity, applied themselves without any murmurs, or appear-

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ances of discontent, to the prosecution of the voyage; and having broken up another vessel, and reduced the number of their ships to three, they left the port, and on August the 20th entered the straits of Magellan, in which they struggled with contrary winds, and the various dangers to which the intricacy of that winding passage exposed them, till night, and then entered a more open sea, in which they discovered an island with a burning mountain. On the 24th they fell in with three more islands, to which Drake gave names, and, landing to take possession of them in the name of his sovereign, found in the largest so prodigious a number of birds, that they killed three thousand of them in one day.

From these islands to the South sea, the strait becomes very crooked and narrow, so that sometimes, by the interposition of headlands, the passage seems shut up, and the voyage entirely stopped. To double these capes is very difficult, on account of the frequent alterations to be made in the course. There are indeed, as Magellan observes, many harbours, but in most of them no bottom is to be found. The land on both sides rises into innumerable mountains: the tops of them are encircled with clouds and vapours, which being congealed fall down in snow, and increase their height by hardening into ice, which is never dissolved; but the valleys are nevertheless green, fruitful, and pleasant.

September 6, they entered the great South sea, on which no English vessel had ever been navigated before, and proposed to have directed their course towards the line, that their men, who had suffered by the severity of the climate, might recover their strength in a warmer latitude. But their designs were scarce formed before they were frustrated; for on the 7th of September, after an eclipse of the moon, a storm arose, so violent, that it left them little hopes of surviving it; nor was its fury so dreadful as its continuance, for it lasted with little intermission till the 28th of October, 52 days, during which time they were tossed incessantly from one part of the ocean to another, without any power of spreading their sails, or lying upon their anchors, amidst shelving shores, scattered

rocks, and unknown islands, the tempest continually roaring, and the waves dashing over them.

In this storm, on the 30th of September, the *Marigold*, commanded by captain Thomas, was separated from them. On the 7th of October, having entered a harbour, where they hoped for some intermission of their fatigues, they were in a few hours forced out to sea by a violent gust, which broke the cable, at which time they lost sight of the *Elizabeth*, the vice-admiral, whose crew, as was afterwards discovered, wearied with labour, and discouraged by the prospect of future dangers, recovered the straits on the next day, and, returning by the same passage through which they came, sailed along the coast of Brazil, and on the 2d of June, in the year following, arrived at England.

From this bay, they were driven southward to 55 degrees, where among some islands they staid two days, to the great refreshment of the crew; but, being again forced into the main sea, they were tossed about with perpetual expectation of perishing, till soon after they again came to anchor near the same place; and, having spent three days in supplying themselves with wood and water, they were by a new storm driven to the latitude of 56 degrees, where they beheld the extremities of the American coast, and the confluence of the Atlantic and Southern ocean.

Here they arrived on the 28th of October, and at last were blessed with the sight of a calm sea, having for almost two months endured such a storm as no traveller has given an account of, and such as in that part of the world, though accustomed to hurricanes, they were before unacquainted with.

On the 30th of October they steered away towards the place appointed for the rendezvous of the fleet, which was in 30 degrees; and on the next day discovered two islands so well stocked with fowls, that they victualled their ships with them, and then sailed forward along the coast of Peru till they came to 37 degrees, where finding neither of their ships, nor any convenient port, they came to anchor, November the 25th, at *Mucho*, an island inhabited by such Indians as the

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cruelty of the Spanish conquerors had driven from the continent, to whom they applied for water and provisions, offering them in return such things as they imagined most likely to please them. The Indians seemed willing to traffic, and having presented them with fruits and two fat sheep, would have shewed them a place whither they should come for water.

The next morning, according to agreement, the English landed with their water-vessels, and sent two men forward towards the place appointed, who, about the middle of the way, were suddenly attacked by the Indians, and immediately slain. Nor were the rest of the company out of danger; for behind the rocks was lodged an ambush of 500 men, who, starting up from their retreat, discharged their arrows into the boat with such dexterity, that every one of the crew was wounded by them, the sea being then high, and hindering them from either retiring or making use of their weapons. Drake himself received an arrow under his eye, which pierced him almost to the brain, and another in his head. The danger of these wounds was much increased by the absence of their surgeon, who was in the vice-admiral, so that they had none to assist them but a boy, whose age did not admit of much experience or skill; yet so much were they favoured by Providence, that they all recovered.

On the afternoon of the same day, they set sail, and on the 30th of November dropped anchor in Philips bay, where their boat having been sent out to discover the country, returned with an Indian in his canoe, whom they had intercepted. By this man Drake was informed, that no supplies were to be expected here; but that southward, in a place to which he offered to be his pilot there was great plenty. This proposal was accepted, and on the 5th of December, under the direction of the good-natured Indian, they came to anchor in the harbour called, by the Spaniards, Valperizo, near the town of St. James of Chiuli, where they met not only with sufficient stores of provisions, and with store-houses full of the wines of Chili, but with a ship called the Captain of Morial, richly laden, having, together with large quantities of the

same wine, some of the fine gold of Baldivia, and a great cross of gold set with emeralds.

They had now little other anxiety than for their friends who had been separated from them, and whom they now determined to seek, and to station their ship at some place where they might build a pinnacle. To this end, on the 19th of December, they entered a bay near Cippo, a town inhabited by Spaniards, who, discovering them, immediately issued out, to the number of a 100 horsemen, with about 200 naked Indians running by their sides. The English observing their approach, retired to their boat without any loss, except of one man, whom no persuasions or intreaties could move to retire with the rest, and who, therefore, was shot by the Spaniards, who, exulting at the victory, commanded the Indians to draw the carcase from the rock on which he fell, and in the sight of the English beheaded it, then cut off the right-hand, and tore out the heart, which they carried away, having first commanded the Indians to shoot their arrows all over the body. The arrows of the Indians were made of green wood for the immediate service of the day; the Spaniards, with the fear that always harasses oppressors, forbidding them to have any weapons, when they do not want their present assistance. Leaving this place, they soon found a harbour more secure and convenient, where they built their pinnacle, in which Drake went to seek his companions, but, finding the wind contrary, he was obliged to return in two days.

Leaving this place soon after, they sailed along the coast in search of fresh water, and landing at Turapaca, they found a Spaniard asleep, with silver bars lying by him to the value of 3,000 ducats. Not all the insults which they had received from his countrymen could provoke them to offer any violence to his person, and therefore they carried away his treasure without doing him any further harm.

Landing in another place, they found a Spaniard driving eight Peruvian sheep, which are the beasts of burden in that country, each laden with 100 pounds weight of silver, which they seized likewise and drove to their boats. Farther along

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the coast lay some Indian towns, from which the inhabitants repaired to the ship, on floats made of seal-skins, blown full of wind, two of which they fasten together, and sitting between them row with great swiftness and carry considerable burthens. They very readily traded for glass and such trifles, with which the old and the young seemed equally delighted. Still coasting in hopes of meeting their friends, they anchored on the 7th of February before Aria, where they took two barks with about 800 pounds weight of silver, and, pursuing their course, seized another vessel laden with linens.

On the 15th of February, 1578, they arrived at Lima, and entered the harbour without resistance, though 30 ships were stationed there, of which seventeen were equipped for their voyages, and many of them are represented in the narrative as vessels of considerable force; so that their security seems to have consisted not in their strength, but in their reputation, which had so intimidated the Spaniards, that the sight of their own superiority could not rouse them to opposition. Instances of such panic terrors are to be met with in other relations; but as they are, for the most part, quickly dissipated by reason and reflection, a wise commander will rarely found his hopes of success on them; and, perhaps, on this occasion, the Spaniards scarcely deserve a severer censure for their cowardice, than Drake for his temerity.

In one of these ships they found 1,500 bars of silver; in another a chest of money; and very rich lading in many of the rest, of which the Spaniards tamely suffered them to carry the most valuable part away, and would have permitted them no less peaceably to burn their ships; but Drake never made war with a spirit of cruelty or revenge, or carried on hostilities further than was necessary for his own advantage or defence.

They set sail the next morning towards Panama, in quest of the *Caca Fuego*, a very rich ship, which had sailed 14 days before, bound thither from Lima, which they overtook on the 1st of March near cape Francisco, and boarding it, found not only a quantity of jewels, and 12 chests of ryals of plate, but 80 pounds weight of gold, and 26 tons of uncoined silver, with pieces of wrought plate to a great value. In unlading

this prize they spent six days, and then, dismissing the Spaniards, stood off to sea.

Being now sufficiently enriched, and having lost all hopes of finding their associates, and perhaps beginning to be infected with that desire of ease and pleasure which is the natural consequence of wealth obtained by dangers and fatigues, they began to consult about their return home, and, in pursuance of Drake's advice, resolved first to find out some convenient harbour, where they might supply themselves with wood and water, and then endeavour to discover a passage from the South sea into the Atlantic ocean; a discovery which would not only enable them to return home with less danger, and in a shorter time, but would much facilitate the navigation in those parts of the world. For this purpose they had recourse to a port in the island of Caines, where they met with fish, wood, and fresh water, and in their course took a ship laden with silk and linen, which was the last that they met with on the coast of America.

But being desirous of storing themselves for a long course, they touched, April the 15th, at Guatulco, a Spanish island, where they supplied themselves with provisions, and seized a bushel of ryals of silver.

From Guatulco, which lies in 15 deg. 40 min. they stood out to sea, and, without approaching to any land, sailed forward, till on the night following, the 3d of June, being then in the latitude of 38 degrees, they were suddenly benumbed with such cold blasts, that they were scarcely able to handle the ropes. This cold increased upon them, as they proceeded, to such a degree, that the sailors were discouraged from mounting upon the deck; nor were the effects of the climate to be imputed to the warmth of the regions to which they had been lately accustomed, for the ropes were stiff with frost, and the meat could scarcely be conveyed warm to the table.

On the 17th of June they came to anchor in 38 deg. 30 min. when they saw the land naked, and the trees without leaves. The savage inhabitants viewed the strangers with astonishment, and as it appeared, worshipped the new divinities that had condescended to touch upon their country. The

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king, in a few days, came to visit Drake, accompanied with a guard of about 100 tall men, and was so struck with the appearance of the English and pleased with the presents he received, that he placed the crown on Drake's head, and saluted him with the title of *Hioh* or king. The country was then taken possession of in the name of queen Elizabeth, and named Albion, from its white cliffs, in which it bore some resemblance to England.

The houses of the inhabitants are round holes dug in the ground, from the brink of which they raise rafters, or piles shelving towards the middle, where they all meet, and are crammed together; they lie upon rushes, with the fire in the midst, and let the smoke fly out at the door. The men are generally naked; but the women make a kind of petticoat of bulrushes, which they comb like hemp, and throw the skin of a deer over their shoulders. They are very modest, tractable, and obedient to their husbands.

On the 23d of July the English weighed anchor, and near this harbour they touched at some islands, where they found great numbers of seals; and despairing now to find a passage through the northern parts, he, after a general consultation, determined to steer away to the Moluccas, and setting sail July 25th, he sailed for 68 days without sight of land; and on September 30th arrived within view of some islands, situate about eight degrees northward from the line, from whence the inhabitants resorted to them in canoes, hollowed out of the solid trunk of a tree, and raised at both ends so high above the water, that they seemed almost a semicircle; they were burnished in such a manner that they shone like ebony, and were kept steady by a piece of timber, fixed on each side of them, with strong canes, that were fastened at one end to the boat, and at the other to the end of the timber.

The first company that came brought fruits, potatoes, and other things of no great value, with an appearance of traffic, and exchanged their lading for other commodities, with great shew of honesty and friendship; but having, as they imagined, laid all suspicion asleep, they soon sent another fleet of canoes, of which the crews behaved with all the inso-

lence of tyrants, and all the rapacity of thieves; for whatever was suffered to come into their hands, they seemed to consider as their own, and would neither pay for it nor restore it; and at length, finding the English resolved to admit them no longer, they discharged a shower of stones from their boats, which insult Drake prudently and generously returned by ordering a piece of ordnance to be fired without hurting them, at which they were so terrified, that they leaped into the water, and hid themselves under the canoes.

Having for some time but little wind, they did not arrive at the Moluccas till the 3d of November, and then designing to touch at Tidore, they were visited, as they sailed by a little island belonging to the king of Ternate, by the viceroy of the place, who informed them, that it would be more advantageous for them to have recourse to his master for supplies and assistance than to the king of Ternate, who was in some degree dependent on the Portuguese, and that he would himself carry the news of their arrival, and prepare for their reception.

Drake was, by the arguments of the viceroy, prevailed upon to alter his resolution; and, on the 5th of November, cast anchor before Ternate; and scarce was he arrived, before the viceroy, with others of the chief nobles, came out in three large boats, rowed by 40 men on each side, to conduct the ship into a safe harbour; and soon after the king himself, having received a velvet cloak by a messenger from Drake, as a token of peace, came with such a retinue and dignity of appearance as was not expected in those remote parts of the world. He was received with discharges of cannons and every kind of music, with which he was so much delighted, that, desiring the musicians to come down into the boat, he was towed along in at the stern of the ship.

The king having spent some time in admiring the multitude of new objects that presented themselves, retired as soon as the ship was brought to anchor, and promised to return on the day following; and in the mean time the inhabitants, having leave to traffic, brought down provisions in great abundance.

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Drake set sail on the 9th of November in quest of some convenient harbour, in a desert island, to refit his ship, not being willing, as it seems, to trust to the generosity of the king of Ternate. Five days afterwards he found a very commodious harbour in an island overgrown with wood, where he repaired his vessel and refreshed his men without danger or interruption.

Leaving this place on the 12th of December, they sailed towards the Celebes; but, having a wind not very favourable, they were detained among a multitude of islands, mingled with dangerous shallows, till January 9, 1580. When they thought themselves clear, and were sailing forward with a strong gale, they were at the beginning of the night surprized in their course with a sudden shock, of which the cause was easily discovered, for they were thrown upon a shoal, and by the speed of their course fixed too fast for any hope of escaping. Here even the intrepidity of Drake was shaken, and his dexterity was baffled; but his piety, however, remained still the same, and what he could not now promise himself from his own ability, he hoped from the assistance of Providence. The pump was plied, and the ship found free from new leaks.

The next attempt was to discover towards the sea some place where they might fix their boat, and from thence drag the ship into deep water; but upon examination it appeared that the rock, on which they had struck, rose perpendicularly from the water, and there was no anchorage, nor any bottom to be found at a boat's length from the ship. But this discovery, with its consequences, was by Drake wisely concealed from the common sailors, lest they should abandon themselves to despair, for which there was, indeed, cause; there being no prospect left but that they must there sink with the ship, which must undoubtedly be soon dashed to pieces, or perish in attempting to reach the shore in their boat, or be cut in pieces by barbarians if they should arrive at the land.

In the midst of this perplexity and distress, Drake directed that the sacrament should be administered, and his men fortified with all the consolation which religion affords; then persuaded them to lighten the vessel by throwing into the sea

part of their lading, which was cheerfully complied with, but without effect. At length, when their hopes had forsaken them, and no new struggles could be made, they were on a sudden relieved by a remission of the wind, which, having hitherto blown strongly against the side of the ship which lay towards the sea, held it upright against the rock; but when the blast slackened (being then low water,) the ship lying higher with that part which rested on the rock than with the other, and being borne up no longer by the wind, reeled into the deep water, to the surprize and joy of Drake and his companions.

This was the greatest and most inextricable distress which they had ever suffered, and made such an impression upon their minds, that for some time afterwards they durst not venture to spread their sails, but went slowly forward with the utmost circumspection.

They thus continued their course without any observable occurrence, till on the 11th of March they came to anchor before the island of Java, and, sending to the king a present of cloths and silks, received from him, in return, a large quantity of provisions; and the day following Drake went himself on shore, and entertained the king with his music, and obtained leave to store his ship with provisions.

The island is governed by a great number of petty kings, or rajas, subordinate to one chief; of these princes three came on board together a few days after their arrival; and, having on their return recounted the wonders which they had seen, and the civility with which they had been treated, incited others to satisfy their curiosity in the same manner; and raja Donan, the chief king, came himself to view the ship, with the warlike armaments and instruments of navigation.

This intercourse of civilities somewhat retarded the business for which they came; but at length they not only victualled their ship, but cleansed the bottom, which, in the long course, was overgrown with a kind of shell-fish that impeded her passage.

Leaving Java on the 26th of March, they sailed homewards by the cape of Good Hope, which they saw on June the 5th:

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on the 15th of August passed the tropic; and on the 26th of September arrived at Plymouth, where they found that, by passing through so many different climates, they had lost a day in their account of time, it being Sunday by their journal, but Monday by the general computation.

In this hazardous voyage they had spent two years, ten months, and some odd days; but were recompensed for their toils by great riches, and the universal applause of their countrymen. Drake afterwards brought his ship up to Deptford, where queen Elizabeth visited him on board his ship, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon him; an honour in that illustrious reign not made cheap by prostitution, nor even bestowed without uncommon merit.

It is not necessary to give an account equally particular of the remaining part of his life, as he was no longer a private man, but engaged in public affairs, and associated in his expeditions with other generals, whose attempts, and the success of them, are related in the histories of those times.

In 1585, on the 12th of September, Sir Francis Drake set sail from Plymouth with a fleet of 25 ships and pinnaces, of which himself was admiral, captain Martin Forbisher vice-admiral, and captain Francis Knollis rear-admiral: they were fitted out to cruize against the Spaniards; and having touched at the isle of Bayonne and plundered Vigo, put to sea again, and on the 16th of November arrived before St. Jago, which they entered without resistance, and rested there 14 days, visiting in the meantime San Domingo, a town within the land, which they found likewise deserted; and, carrying off what they pleased of the produce of the island, they at their departure destroyed the town and villages, in revenge of the murder of one of their boys, whose body they found mar-^{red}led in a most inhuman manner.

From this island they pursued their voyage to the West Indies, determining to attack St. Domingo, in Hispaniola, as the richest place in that part of the world: they therefore landed 1,000 men, and with small loss entered the town, of which they kept possession for a month without interruption

or alarm; during which a remarkable accident happened which deserves to be related.

Drake, having some intention of treating with the Spaniards, sent to them a negro-boy with a flag of truce, which one of the Spaniards so little regarded, that he stabbed him through the body with a lance. The boy, notwithstanding his wound, came back to the general, related the treatment he had found, and died in his sight. Drake was so incensed at this outrage, that he ordered two friars, then his prisoners, to be conveyed with a guard to the place where the crime was committed, and hanged up in the sight of the Spaniards, declaring that two Spanish prisoners should undergo the same death every day, till the offender should be delivered up by them: they were too well acquainted with the character of Drake not to bring him on the day following, when, to impress the shame of such actions more effectually upon them, he compelled them to execute him with their own hands. Of this town, at their departure, they demolished part, and admitted the rest to be ransomed for 25,000 ducats.

From thence they sailed to Carthagena, where the enemy having received intelligence of the fate of St. Domingo, had strengthened their fortifications, and prepared to defend themselves with great obstinacy; but the English, landing in the night, came upon them by a way which they did not suspect, and being better armed, partly by surprize, and partly by superiority of order and valour, became masters of the place, where they staid without fear or danger six weeks, and at their departure received 110,000 ducats, for the ransom of the town.

They afterwards took St. Augustan, and touching at Virginia took on board the governor, Mr. Lane, with the English that had been left there the year before by Sir Walter Raleigh, and arrived at Portsmouth on July 28, 1586, having lost in the voyage 750 men. The gain of this expedition amounted to 60,000*l.* of which 40,000*l.* were the share of the adventurers who fitted out the ships, and the rest, distributed among the several crews, amounted to 6*l.* each man. So cheaply is life sometimes hazarded!

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The transactions against the Armada, 1588, are in themselves far more memorable, but less necessary to be recited in this succinct narrative; only let it be remembered, that the post of vice-admiral of England, to which Sir Francis Drake was then raised, is a sufficient proof, that no obscurity of birth, or meanness of fortune, is insurmountable to bravery and diligence.

In 1595, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were sent with a fleet to the West Indies, which expedition was only memorable for the destruction of Nombre de Dios, and the death of the two commanders, of whom Sir Francis Drake died January 9, 1597, and was thrown into the sea in a leaden coffin, with all the pomp of naval obsequies. It is reported by some that the ill success of the expedition hastened his death. Upon what this conjecture is grounded does not appear; and we may be allowed to hope, for the honour of so great a man, that it is without foundation; and that he, whom no series of success could ever betray to vanity or negligence, could have supported a change of fortune without impatience or dejection.

NARRATIVE
OF AN
EXPEDITION TO SURINAM.

By Captain J. G. Stedman.

‘THIS narrative,’ says the author, ‘is, perhaps, one of the most singular productions ever offered to the public. Here, in the different characters of a commander—a rebel negro—a planter, and a slave—not only is tyranny exposed, but benevolence and humanity are unveiled to the naked eye.’

The author served in the British navy previous to the American war; but, having small hopes of preferment in time of peace, he accepted an ensign’s commission in one of the Scotch brigade regiments in the pay of Holland. Shortly after, an expedition was prepared to quell a formidable insurrection of the negro-slaves in Dutch Guiana, which he offered to join as a volunteer, and was in consequence advanced to the rank of captain, under colonel Louis Henry Fourgeoud, a Swiss gentleman, from the Alpine mountains, who was appointed commander-in-chief.

This armament sailed from the Texel on Christmas-day, 1772, and consisted of the *Boreas* and *Westellingwerf* men-of-war, and three frigates, having on board 500 fine young men, embodied as a regiment of marines. But we shall give the most important parts of this highly-interesting narrative in the adventurer’s own lively and picturesque language.

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‘ On the 14th of January, 1773, in the morning-watch, we passed the tropic, when the usual ceremony of ducking the fresh-water sailors was ransomed by tipping the foremast men with some silver. About this time the *Boreas* most unluckily lost one of her best seamen, the boastwain’s mate, whose hand slipping by the wet, he pitched from the fore-yard-arm into the sea. His presence of mind in calling to the captain, as he floated alongside, “ Be not alarmed for me, sir,” in the confidence of meeting with relief, attracted peculiar compassion, and even caused some murmuring, as no assistance was offered him; in consequence of which, after swimming a considerable time within view, the unfortunate young man went to the bottom.

‘ Our progress was now daily marked by increasing warm weather, which released me from the confinement of a disagreeable cabin crowded with officers, most of whom had never been at sea, and enabled me to pursue my favourite amusements, whether reading above deck, or exercise in the rigging. Thus circumstanced, I, on the 17th, had the happiness of rendering a most important service to one of our young officers, a Mr. du Moulin, who by a sudden roll of the vessel was actually thrown over the gunwale; at that moment happening to stand without-board in the main-chains, I fortunately grasped hold of him in his fall, which saved him, (as he could not swim,) from inevitable death. The entrance into warmer regions gave occasion to an observation perhaps not generally known, which (though uncouth) must be of great importance to sailors; namely, that between the tropics, while vermin may remain in the head, none can possibly continue to exist in the bedding, clothes, linen, &c.

‘ The two following days it blew very fresh, and heavy seas washed over the vessel; during which, while helping to put a reef in the main-top-sail for a little exercise, I lost every one of my keys, which dropped from the yard-arm into the sea. This trifling accident I should never have related, had it not proved a very great inconvenience, by debarring me from coming at my private property, particularly since the whole ship’s company, officers included, lived on salt provision

alone, a pig and a couple of lean sheep excepted, whose legs had been broken by the rolling and pitching of the vessel. This manner of living on salt-beef, pork, and pease, like common sailors, was introduced by our commander-in-chief, in order to enure us (he said) to such food as we were likely to be alone supplied with in the woods of Surinam; and from the *generous* motive of regaling his American friends with European refreshments—such as live sheep, hogs, fowls, ducks, bacon hams, bullocks tongues, preserved vegetables, pickles, spices, &c. all of which were provided by the town of Amsterdam in great profusion. But good intentions do not always meet with their rewards; since the *worms*, without any one's permission, laid hold of the greatest part of the dead stock for themselves; who were, for a punishment, together with their plunder, thrown overboard into the ocean. Let me add, that instead of plate, our meals were frequently served up in small wooden tubs of not the most cleanly appearance, and only once a day; which negligence, however, I am willing to impute to Monsieur Laurant, the colonel's French valet-de-chambre. In short, the *sc*avy and other loathsome disorders began to make their appearance; dejection and low-spirits took place throughout the ship, while I complained *aloud*, and from that moment date the *good-will* which colonel Fourgeoud manifested towards me in particular, as will be seen throughout the expedition.

'On the 2d of February we entered the beautiful river Surinam; and at three o'clock, P. M. dropped anchor before the new fortress called Amsterdam. Our ships crews now were in the highest flow of spirits, seeing themselves surrounded by the most delightful verdure, while the river seemed alive by the many boats and barges passing and re-passing to see us, while groups of naked boys and girls were promiscuously playing and flouncing, like so many tritons and mermaids, in the water. The scene was new to all, and nothing was heard but music, singing, and cheering on deck, as well as in the rigging, from the ideas of happiness which each individual now promised himself in this luxuriant flourishing spot, while between decks the heat was become insupportable:

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but how miserably these poor fellows were mistaken in their reckoning shall soon be seen.

‘ I must indeed acknowledge that nothing could equal the delicious sensations with which we seemed intoxicated by the fragrance of the lemons, limes, oranges, and flowers, wafted over from the adjoining plantations that line the banks of all the rivers in this ever-blooming settlement, and of which charming fruit, &c. large clusters were sent on board our ships by colonel de Ponchera of the colonial troops: this gentleman, being the commandant of fort Amsterdam, also saluted the vessels with nine guns from the batteries, while with an equal number we returned him the compliment from the ships. A long-boat, with one of our captains, was afterwards dispatched to Paramaribo, to announce to the governor the arrival of the troops in the colony.

‘ During our stay in this place the companies frequently walked on shore, and I accompanied them in their excursions; but the pleasure I had flattered myself with, from exchanging the confinement of a ship for the liberty of ranging over a delicious country, was damped by the first object which presented itself after my landing. This was a young female slave, whose only covering was a rag tied round her loins, which, like her skin, was lacerated in several places by the stroke of the whip. The crime which had been committed by this miserable victim of tyranny, was the non-performance of a task to which she was apparently unequal, for which she was sentenced to receive 200 lashes, and to drag, during some months, a chain several yards in length, one end of which was locked round her ankle, and to the other was affixed a weight of at least 100lbs.

‘ On March the 3d we received a visit from several officers of the Society, or West India company’s troops, accompanied by a number of other gentlemen, to welcome our arrival in the colony. Nor were they satisfied with paying us merely a compliment in words, but regaled us with a large quantity of excellent fruits and other refreshments. They came in very elegant barges or tent-boats, adorned with flags, and attended

by small bands of music. The vessels were rowed by six or eight negroes, who were entirely without clothes, except a small stripe of check or other linen cloth, which was passed between their thighs, and fastened before and behind to a thin cotton string tied round their loins. As the colonists generally make choice of their handsomest slaves for this office, and to attend them at table, &c. the rowers, who were healthy, young, and vigorous, looking extremely well, and their being naked gave us a full opportunity of observing their skins, which was shining, and nearly as black as ebony. This scene was however contrasted by the arrival of two canoes filled with emaciated starving wretches, who clamorously solicited relief from the soldiers, and were ready to fight for the possession of a bone.

'The day following, our commander-in-chief was visited by a Mr. Rynsdorp, who introduced to him two black soldiers. manumized slaves, who composed part of a corps of three hundred which had been lately formed. These men were exhibited by Mr. Rynsdorp as specimens of that valiant body, which but a short time before had most gallantly distinguished itself by the protection it had afforded to the colony.

'While we still remained at anchor before the fortress Amsterdam, I received a polite invitation from one Mr. Lolkens, a planter, to whom I had been recommended, to accept the use of his house and table on our arrival at Paramaribo, the capital of the colony.

'On the 8th we once more went under way, and after the usual ceremonies on both sides on leaving the fortress, sailed up the river Surinam with drums beating, colours flying, and a guard of marines drawn up on the quarter-deck of each vessel. Having at length reached Paramaribo, we finally came to an anchor within pistol-shot of the shore, receiving a salute of 11 guns from the citadel Zeelandia, which was returned by all the ships of our small fleet.

'After being confined nearly the whole of 63 days within the limits of a small vessel, and upon an element to which few of the troops had been accustomed, it would not be easy to

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describe the pleasure we experienced on finding ourselves once more on land, and surrounded by a thousand agreeable circumstances.

The town appeared uncommonly neat and pleasing, the shipping extremely beautiful, the adjacent woods adorned with the most luxuriant verdure, the air perfumed with the utmost fragrance, and the whole scene gilded by the rays of an unclouded sun. We did not however take leave of our wooden habitation at this time, but the next day were formally disembarked with a general appearance of rejoicing; all the ships in the roads being in full dress, and the guns keeping up an incessant fire till the whole of the troops were landed.

All the inhabitants of Paramaribo were collected to behold this splendid scene, nor were the expectations they had formed disappointed. The corps consisted of nearly 500 young men; (for we had been so fortunate as only to lose one during the voyage) the oldest of whom was scarcely more than thirty, and the whole party neatly clothed in their new uniforms, and in caps ornamented with twigs of orange-blossom. We paraded on a large green plain between the town and the citadel, opposite to the governor's palace; during the course of which ceremonies several soldiers fainted from the excessive heat. The troops then marched into quarters prepared for their reception, whilst the officers were regaled with a dinner by the governor, which would have derived a considerable relish from its succeeding the salt provisions, to which we had so long been confined, had any contrast been necessary to heighten our opinion of its elegance. But the choicest delicacies of America and Europe were united in this repast, and served up in silver. A great variety of the richest wines were poured out with profusion; the dessert was composed of the most delicious fruits, and the company were attended by a considerable number of extremely handsome negro and mulatto maids, all naked from the waist upwards, according to the custom of the country; but the other parts of their persons arrayed in the finest India chintzes, and the whole adorned with golden chains, medals, beads, bracelets, and sweet-smelling flowers.

'After partaking of this superb entertainment till about seven o'clock, I set out in search of the house of Mr. Lolkens, the hospitable gentleman who had so obligingly invited me to make it my own. I soon discovered the place, but my reception was so ludicrous that I cannot forbear relating the particulars. On knocking at the door, it was opened by a young female negro, of a masculine appearance, whose whole dress consisted of a single petticoat, and who held a lighted tobacco-pipe in one hand, and a burning candle in the other, which she brought close to my face, in order to reconnoitre me. I enquired if her master was at home, to which she replied, but in a language totally unintelligible to me. I then mentioned his name, on which she burst into an immoderate fit of laughter, displaying two rows of very beautiful teeth; and at the same time, laying hold of the breast-buttons of my coat, she made me a signal to follow her. I was much at a loss how to act, but went in, and was ushered by the girl into a very neat apartment, whither she brought some excellent fruit, and a bottle of Madeira wine, which she placed upon the table. She then, in the best manner she was able, informed me that her *masera*, with the rest of his family, was gone to spend a few days at his plantation, and that she was left behind to receive an English captain, whom she supposed to be me. I signified that I was, and filled her out a tumbler of wine, which I had the utmost difficulty to persuade her to accept; for such is the degrading light in which these unhappy beings are considered, that it is accounted a high degree of presumption in them to eat or drink in the presence of an European. I contrived for some time to carry on something like a conversation with this woman, but was soon glad to put an end to it by recurring to my bottle.

'Tired with the employments of the day, I longed for some rest, and made a signal to my attendant that I wanted to sleep: but my motion was strangely misconstrued; for she immediately seized me by the neck, and imprinted on my lips a most ardent kiss. Heartily provoked at this unexpected, and (from one of her colour) unwelcome salutation, I disentangled myself from her embraces, and angrily flung into the

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apartment allotted for my place of rest. But here I was again pursued by my black tormentor, who, in opposition to all I could say, insisted upon pulling off my shoes and stockings, and in a moment disencumbered me of that part of my apparel. I was extremely chagrined at her conduct, though this is an office commonly performed by the slaves in Surinam to all ranks and sexes without exception. Nor ought any one to conceive that this apparently extraordinary conduct resulted from any peculiarity of disposition in the girl; her behaviour was only such as would have been practised by the generality of female negro slaves, and what will be found, by all who visit the West India settlements, to be characteristic of the whole dark sisterhood.

‘ Finding in the morning that my friend the planter was not returned, I took leave of his mansion, and very hospitable servant; and after visiting the soldiers in their new abodes, was conducted by the quarter-master to a neat habitation appropriated to my use. I found the house entirely unfurnished, though not destitute of inhabitants; for, leaving my captain’s commission, which was of parchment, in the window, the first night, I had the mortification to find in the morning that it was devoured by the rats.

‘ Having taken possession of my habitation, my next wish was to furnish it properly; but all cares of this nature were rendered unnecessary by the generous hospitality of the inhabitants; the ladies supplied me with tables, chairs, glasses, and even plate and china, in great abundance; and the gentlemen loaded me with presents of Madeira wine, porter, cyder, rum and sugar, besides a quantity of the most exquisite fruits.

‘ This day, on examining into the state of our remaining live stock, such as hogs, sheep, ducks, geese, fowls, and turkeys, we found them nearly as many in number when we first sailed from Holland: these were all sent to the colonel’s poultry-yard at the head-quarters, while we had the additional mortification of seeing sixty large kegs with preserved vegetables, &c. and just as many fine Westphalia hams (being

perfectly rotten) thrown into the river Surinam to feed the sharks.

‘ I now observed, on the second morning after our landing, that my face, my breast, and hands were entirely spotted over like the skin of a leopard, occasioned by myriads of gnats or mosquitoes, which flying in clouds, had kept me company during the night, though the fatigue from my voyage, and the oppressive heat of the climate, had sunk me into so profound a sleep, that I was insensible of their stings, till I perceived the effects. These insects are inconceivably numerous here during the rainy season, and particularly on the banks of creeks or rivers. None are secured from their attacks, but they peculiarly infect strangers in preference to the natives; and wherever they insert their proboscis, and remain unmolested, they suck the blood till they are scarcely able to fly. Every puncture they make is succeeded by a large blotch, or rather tumour, accompanied with an itching, which is almost intolerable. The presence of the mosquitoes is indicated by their buzzing noise, which alone is sufficient to make one sweat, and which is so very disagreeable to those who have suffered from their stings, as to have obtained for them the name of the *devil's trumpeters*. They are indeed inconceivably troublesome in every respect. The candles are no sooner lighted in an evening, than they are stuck full of them; all kinds of food and drink are exposed to their disagreeable visits, from which even the mouth and eyes are not exempted.

‘ The best cure for their stings is an application of the juice of lemons or limes, mixed with water, which is also a tolerable preservative against their attacks. Immediately before shutting the windows, the inhabitants commonly burn tobacco in their apartments, the smoke of which occasions them to fly about the room, when the negro girls unreservedly throw off their petticoats, which is the whole of their covering, and running naked about the chamber, chase the gnats therewith out at the windows, or destroy them. The more delicate or luxurious amongst the natives still employ their slaves in fanning them during the whole night, excepting such as have

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green gauze doors to their beds or pavilions; but the generality of the people in Surinam sleep in roomy cotton hamnocks, which are covered with a very large thin sheet, suspended from a tight line immediately over them, something like the awning of a ship, which serves in some measure to keep off these troublesome insects, and the want of which had exposed me to be thus stung all over.

There are also in Surinam a still larger species of gnats or musquitoes, called *mawkers*, the stings of which are extremely painful indeed; but as they are much less numerous than the former, they are not nearly so troublesome to the inhabitants, and are consequently less remarked.—But to proceed:

On the morning of the 22d, an elderly negro-woman, with a black girl about fourteen, entering into my apartment, it would be difficult to express my astonishment, when she gravely presented me her daughter, to become what she was pleased to term my wife. I had so little gallantry, however, as to reject the offer with a loud laugh; but at the same time accompanied the refusal with a small but welcome present, with which they appeared perfectly satisfied, and departed with every possible demonstration of gratitude and respect. The girls here, who voluntarily enter into these connections, are sometimes mulattoes, sometimes Indians, and often negroes. They all exult in the circumstance of living with an European, whom in general they serve with the utmost tenderness and fidelity, and tacitly reprove those numerous *fair-ones* who break through ties more sacred and solemn. Young women of this description cannot indeed be married, or connected in any other way, as most of them are born or trained up in a state of slavery; and so little is the practice condemned, that while they continue faithful and constant to the partner by whom they are chosen, they are countenanced and encouraged by their nearest relations and friends, who call this a lawful marriage, nay even the clergy avail themselves of this custom. Many of the sable-coloured beauties will however follow their own *penchant* without any restraint whatever, refusing with contempt the golden bribes of some, while

on others they bestow their favours for a dram or a broken tobacco-pipe, if not for nothing.

‘The hospitality I had experienced on our first arrival in the colony was not confined to that time only: I had a general invitation to visit, besides his excellency the governor, and colonel Texier, the commandant, in more than twenty respectable families, whenever it suited my convenience; so that, though the officers of our corps had formed a regimental mess, I had seldom the honour of their company. One gentleman, a Mr. Kennedy, in particular, carried his politeness so far, as not only to offer me the use of his carriage, saddle-horses, and table, but even to present me with a fine negro boy, named Quaco, to carry my umbrella as long as I remained in Surinam. The other gentlemen of the regiment also met with great civilities, and the whole colony seemed anxious to testify their respect, by vying with each other in a constant round of festivity. Balls, concerts, card-assemblies, and every species of amusement in their power, were constantly contrived for our entertainment. The spirit of conviviality next reached on board the men-of-war, where we entertained the ladies with cold suppers and dancing upon the quarter-deck, under an awning, till six in the morning, generally concluding the frolic by a cavalcade, or an airing in their carriages. This constant routine of dissipation, which was rendered still more pernicious by the enervating effects of an intensely hot climate, where one is in a perpetual state of perspiration, already threatened to become *fatal* to two or three of our officers. Warned by their example, I retired from all public companies, sensible that by such means I could alone preserve my health, in a country which has such a tendency to debilitate the human frame, that an European, however cautious to avoid excesses, has always reason to apprehend its dreadful effects.

‘Dissipation and luxury appear to be congenial to the inhabitants of this climate, and great numbers must annually fall victims to their very destructive influence. Their fatal consequences are indeed too visible in the men, who have indulged themselves in intemperance and other sensual gratifications,

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and who appear withered and enervated in the extreme; nor do the generality of the Creole females exhibit a more alluring appearance; they are languid, their complexions are sallow, and the skin even of the young ladies is frequently shrivelled. This is however not the case with all; and I have been acquainted with some who, preserving a glow of health and freshness in their lovely countenance, were entitled to contend for the prize of beauty with the fairest European. But, alas! the numbers of this last description are so small, that the colonists in their amours most usually prefer the Indian negro and mulatto girls, particularly on account of their remarkable cleanliness, health, and vivacity. For the excesses of the husbands in this respect, and the marked neglect which they meet from them, the Creole ladies most commonly, at a very early period, appear in mourning weeds, with the agreeable privilege however of making another choice, in the hopes of a better partner; nor are they long without another mate. Such indeed is the superior longevity of the females of Surinam, compared to that of the males (owing chiefly, as I said, to their excesses of all sorts) that I have frequently known wives who have buried four husbands, but never a man in this country who had survived two wives.

‘The ladies do not, however, always bear with the most becoming patience the slights and insults they thus meet with, in the expectation of a sudden release, but mostly persecute their successful sable rivals (even to suspicion) with implacable hatred and the most unrelenting barbarity; while they chastise their partners not only with a shew of ineffable contempt, but with giving in public the most unequivocal marks of preference towards those gentlemen who newly arrive from Europe; which occasioned the trite proverb and observation in the colony, that the tropical ladies and the mosquitoes have an instinctive preference for a newly-landed European: this partiality is indeed so very extreme, and the proofs of it so very apparent and nauseous, that some command of temper is necessary to prevent the disgust which such behaviour must naturally excite, particularly where the object is not very inviting; nay, it was even publicly reported at Paramaribo, that two of

these *tropical Amazons* had fought a *duel* for the sake of one of our officers.'

Considerable animosity seems to have subsisted between the governor and colonel Fourgeoud; and, after some time, the former requested the latter to quit the colony with his marines, as the rebel negroes appeared very tranquil. The inhabitants, however, remonstrated against this order; in consequence of which the departure of the troops was delayed. This circumstance determined captain Stedman to write some account of this wonderful country, and which he has executed in a style equally amusing and instructing.

GUIANA, by some called the *Wild Coast*, was discovered by the Spaniards, in 1504. It is situated under the torrid zone, in the N. E. part of South America, and is above 1,420 miles of length, and 790 in breadth. The heat is tempered by the cooling breezes from the sea; and the seasons, as in other hot countries, are divided into wet and dry. The uncultivated parts are covered with immense forests, rocks, and mountains; but, Surinam being peculiarly low and marshy, the rains and warmth impart to vegetation a most wonderful strength and richness. The Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch were the only nations which possessed settlements in this part of Terra Firma, excepting the small colony of Cayenne belonging to the French; but the Dutch settlements, reaching from cape Nassau to the river Marawina, and including Essequibo, Demerary, Berbice, and Surinam, are now united to the British empire.

Guiana, after being seen by some of the early Spanish navigators, was, in 1595, visited by Sir Walter Raleigh, who sailed up the river Oronoque above 600 miles, in hopes of discovering the gold-mines of the supposed El Dorado. In 1634, a captain Marshall with above 60 English, were discovered in Surinam employed in planting tobacco. These were succeeded by the French, who being destroyed by the Caribbeans, Francis, lord Willoughby, by king Charles II. permission, re-occupied the colony, and under whose auspices it was successfully cultivated. When the Dutch were driven from the Brazils by the Portuguese, they took this colony

STEINMAN'S ACCOUNT OF SURINAM.



EXECUTION OF A NEGRO IN SURINAM.

Published by Mackenzie & Dent.

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from the English; and though it was re-taken by an English squadron, it was ceded to the Dutch in 1669, by an order of king Charles.

The Dutch have always been infamously notorious for their cruelty to their slaves. The negroes who had taken refuge in the woods of Surinam from their inhuman masters, about 1726, began to increase in numbers and boldness, and were enabled to commit several outrages, as well from a spirit of revenge, as with a view to obtain subsistence and arms.

In 1730, a most shocking and barbarous execution of eleven of the unhappy negro captives was resolved upon, in the expectation that it might terrify their companions, and induce them to submit. One man was hanged alive upon a gibbet, by an iron hook stuck through his ribs; two others were chained to stakes, and burnt to death by a slow fire. Six women were broken alive upon the rack, and two girls were decapitated. Such was their resolution under these tortures, that they endured them without even uttering a sigh.

These cruelties failed in producing the intended effect, and were followed by an act of bad policy, whereby the colonists sued for peace from their slaves. Intervals of peace succeeded war in which the negroes were generally successful, until 1772, when a body of new revoltors, named the Cottica rebels, had nearly given the finishing blow to Surinam. These negroes were commanded by a desperate fellow named Baron, who erected a strong settlement between the river Cottica and the sea-coast. Here he was unsuccessfully besieged for several weeks, until the rangers (a Negro corps employed by the planters) by their indefatigable efforts, and, however strange to think, implacable enmity against the rebels, found out and discovered to the Europeans the under-water paths of communication to Boucon, several being shot and drowned in the execution of this important service.

The regulars, on this intelligence, now forded the swamp on one side, and instantly making a feint attack on the fortress, drew Baron with all the rebels, as was expected, to its defence; while the rangers, having crossed the swamp on the

other side, embraced the opportunity of leaping over the palisades, sword in hand, without opposition.

A most terrible carnage at this time ensued, while several prisoners were made on both sides, and the fortress of Boucon was taken; but Baron, with the greatest number of the rebels, escaped into the woods, having first found means, however, to cut the throats of ten or twelve of the rangers, who had lost their way in the marsh, and whom he seized as they stuck fast in the swamp; and cutting off the ears, nose, and lips of one of them, he left him alive in this condition to return to his friends, with whom however the miserable man soon expired.

Such was the state of affairs when captain Stedman landed in Guiana.

'As a contrast to the preceding scenes of horror,' says our author. 'I will present to the reader a description of the beautiful mulatto maid Joanna. This charming young woman I first saw at the house of a Mr. Demelly, secretary to the court of policy, where I daily breakfasted; and with whose lady Joanna, about 15 years of age, was a very remarkable favourite. Rather taller than the middle size, she was possessed of the most elegant shape that nature can exhibit, moving her well-formed limbs with more than common gracefulness. Her face was full of native modesty, and the most distinguished sweetness; her eyes, as black as ebony, were large and full of expression, bespeaking the goodness of her heart; with cheeks through which glowed, in spite of the darkness of her complexion, a beautiful tinge of vermilion, when gazed upon. Her nose was perfectly well formed, rather small; her lips a little prominent, which, when she spoke, discovered two regular rows of teeth, as white as mountain snow; her hair was a dark brown inclining to black, forming a beautiful globe of small ringlets, ornamented with flowers and gold spangles. Round her neck, her arms, and her ancles, she wore gold chains, rings, and medals: while a shawl of India muslin, the end of which was negligently thrown over her polished shoulders, gracefully covered part of her lovely bosom, a petticoat of rich chintz alone completed her apparel. Bare-headed

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and bare-footed, she shone with double lustre, as she carried in her delicate hand a beaver hat, the crown trimmed round with silver. The figure and appearance of this charming creature could not but attract my particular attention, as they did indeed that of all who beheld her; and induced me to enquire from Mrs. Demelly, with much surprize, who she was, that appeared to be so much distinguished above all others of her species in the colony.

“She is, sir,” replied the lady, “the daughter of a respectable gentleman, named Kruythoff; who had, besides this girl, four children by a black woman, called Cery, the property of a Mr. D. B. on his estate called Fauconberg, in the upper part of the river Comewina.

“Some few years since Mr. Kruythoff made the offer of above 1,000*l.* sterling to Mr. D. B. to obtain manumission for his offspring; which being inhumanely refused, it had such an effect on his spirits, that he became frantic, and died in that melancholy state soon after; leaving in slavery, at the discretion of a tyrant, two boys and three fine girls, of whom Joanna is the eldest.*

“The gold medals, &c. which seem to surprize you, are the gifts which her faithful mother, who is a most deserving woman towards her children, and of some consequence amongst her cast, received from the father (whom she ever attended with exemplary affection) just before he expired.

“Mr. D. B. however, met with his just reward; for having since driven all his best carpenter negroes to the woods by his injustice and severity, he was ruined, and obliged to fly the colony, and leave his estate and stock to the disposal of his creditors; while one of the unhappy deserters, a *samboe*,† has by his industry been the protector of Cery and her children. His name is Jolycœur, and he is now the first of Baron’s captains, whom you may have a chance of meeting in the rebel camp, breathing revenge against the Christians.

* In Surinam all such children go with their mothers; that is, if she is in slavery, her offspring are her master’s property, should their father be a prince, unless he obtains them by purchase.

† A *samboe* is between a mulattoe and a negro.

‘ “Mrs. D. B. is still in Surinam, being arrested for her husband’s debts, till Fauconberg shall be sold by execution to pay them. This lady now lodges at my house, where the unfortunate Joanna attends her, whom she treats with peculiar tenderness and distinction.”

‘ Having thanked Mrs. Demelly for her account of Joanna, in whose eye glittered the precious pearl of sympathy, I took my leave, and went to my lodging in a state of sadness and stupefaction. However trifling and like the style of romance, this relation may appear to some, it is nevertheless a genuine account, and on that score I flatter myself may not entirely be uninteresting to others.

‘ When reflecting on the state of slavery altogether, while my ears were stunned with the clang of the whip, and the dismal yells of the wretched negroes on whom it was exercised, from morning till night; and considering that this might one day be the fate of the unfortunate mulatto I have been describing, should she chance to fall into the hands of a tyrannical master or mistress, I could not help execrating the barbarity of Mr. D. B. for having withheld her from a fond parent, who by bestowing on her a decent education and some accomplishments, would probably have produced, in this forsaken plant, now exposed to every rude blast without protection, an ornament to civilized society.

‘ I became melancholy with these reflections; and in order to counterbalance, though in a very small degree, the general calamity of the miserable slaves who surrounded me, I began to take more delight in the prattling of my poor negro boy Quacoo, than in all the fashionable conversation of the polite inhabitants of this colony; but my spirits were depressed, and in the space of 24 hours I was very ill indeed; when a cordial, a few preserved tamarinds, and a basket of fine oranges, were sent by an unknown person. This first contributed to my relief, and losing about 12 ounces of blood, I recovered so far, that on the 5th of March I was able, for change of air, to accompany a captain Macneyl, who gave me a pressing invitation to his beautiful coffee plantation, called Sporkesgift, in the Matapoca creek.

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‘ We now set out from Paramaribo for Sporkesgift, in a tent-boat or barge, rowed by eight of the best negroes belonging to Mr. Macneyl’s estate; every body travelling by water in this colony.

‘ These barges I cannot better describe than by comparing them with those that accompany what is usually styled the lord mayor’s show on the river Thames. They are, however, somewhat less, though some are very little inferior in magnificence, and are often decorated with gilded flags, filled with musicians, and abound in every convenience. They are sometimes rowed by ten and even by twelve oars, and being lightly built, sweep along with astonishing celerity. The rowers never stop, from the moment they set out till the company is landed at the place of destination; but continue, the tide serving or not, to tug night and day, sometimes for twenty-four hours together, singing a chorus all the time to keep up their spirits. When their labour is over, their naked bodies still dripping with sweat, like post-horses, they headlong, one and all, plunge into the river to refresh themselves.

‘ Mr. Macneyl at this time discharged his overseer, for having by his bad usage and cruelty caused the death of three or four negroes; but another instance throws a shade over the humanity of this gentleman, which I should be guilty of partiality did I not relate.

‘ Having observed a handsome young negro walk very lamely, while the others were capering and dancing, I enquired into the cause of his cripple appearance; when I was informed by this gentleman, that the negro having repeatedly run away from his work, he had been obliged to hamstring him, which operation is performed by cutting through the large tendon above one of the heels. However severe this instance of despotism may appear, it is nothing when compared with some barbarities which the task I have undertaken will oblige me, at the expence of my feelings, to relate.

‘ I afterwards made an excursion with a Mr. C. Ryndorp, who rowed me in his barge to five beautiful coffee estates, and one sugar plantation, in the Mattapaca, Paramarica, and Werapa

creeks; on one of which, called Schovnort, I was the witness to a scene of barbarity which I cannot help relating.

'The victim of this cruelty was a fine old negro slave, who having been as he thought undeservedly sentenced to receive some hundred lashes by the lacerating whips of two negro-drivers, in the midst of the execution pulled out a knife, which, after having made a fruitless thrust at his persecutor the overseer, he plunged up to the hilt in his own bowels, repeating the blow till he dropped down at the tyrant's feet. For this crime he was, being first recovered, condemned to be chained to the furnace which distils the *kill-devil* (new rum), there to keep in the intense heat of a perpetual fire night and day, being blistered all over, till he should expire by infirmity or old age, of the latter of which however he had but little chance. He shewed me his wounds with a smile of contempt, which I returned with a sigh and a small donation: nor shall I ever forget the miserable man, who, like Ceberus, was loaded with irons, and chained to everlasting torment. As for every thing else I observed in this little tour, I must acknowledge it to be elegant and splendid, and my reception hospitable beyond my expectation; but these Elysian fields could not dissipate the gloom which the infernal furnace had left upon my mind.

'I now took an opportunity to enquire of Mrs. Demelly what was become of the amiable Joanna; and was informed that her lady, Mrs. D. B. had escaped to Holland on board the Boreas man-of-war, under the protection of captain Vande-Velde, and that her young mulatto was now at the house of her aunt, a free woman, whence she expected hourly to be sent up to the estate Fauconberg, friendless, and at the mercy of some unprincipled overseer appointed by the creditors, who had now taken possession of the plantation and stock, till the whole should be sold to pay the several sums due to them by Mr. D. B.—Good God!--I flew to the spot in search of poor Joanna: I found her bathed in tears.—She gave me such a look—ah! such a look!—From that moment I determined to be her protector against every insult, and persevered, as shall

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be seen in the sequel.—Here, reader, let my youth, blended with extreme sensibility, plead my excuse; yet assuredly my feelings will be forgiven me—by those few only excepted—who delight in the *prudent* conduct of Mr. Incle, to the hapless and much-injured Yarico at Barbadoes.

‘ I next ran to the house of my friend Lolkens, who happened to be the administrator of the Fauconberg estate; and asking his assistance, I intimated to him my strange determination of purchasing and educating Joanna. Having recovered from his surprise, after gazing at me silently for some time, an interview at once was proposed; and the beauteous slave, accompanied by a female relation, was produced trembling in my presence.

‘ Reader, if you have perused the tale of *Lavinia*, with pleasure, though the scene admits of no comparison, reject not the history of Joanna with contempt.—It now proved to be she who had privately sent me the cordial and the oranges in March, when I was nearly expiring, and which she now modestly acknowledged “was in gratitude for my expressions of compassion respecting her sad situation;” with singular delicacy, however, she rejected every proposal of becoming mine upon any terms. She was conscious, she said, “that in such a state should I soon return to Europe, she must either be parted from me for ever, or accompany me to a part of the world where the inferiority of her condition must prove greatly to the disadvantage of both herself and her benefactor, and thus in either case be miserable.” In which sentiment Joanna firmly persisting, she was immediately permitted to withdraw, and return to the house of her aunt; while I could only intreat of Mr. Lolkens his generous protection for her, and that she might at least for some time be separated from the other slaves, and continue at Paramaribo; and in this request his humanity was induced to indulge me.

‘ About this time the rangers discovered and attacked a village, which rendered it probable that we might be speedily employed. This had become extremely desirable, as not only our officers, but our privates, began to feel the debilitating effects of the climate, and many, of that continued debauchery

so common in all ranks in this settlement: and as hard labour and bad treatment constantly killed the poor sailors, so now our common soldiers fell the victims of idleness and licentiousness, and died frequently six or seven in a day; whence it is evident to demonstration, that all excesses, of whatever kind, are mortal to Europeans in the climate of Guiana.

‘ But men will give lessons which they do not themselves observe. Thus, notwithstanding my former resolution of living retired, I again relapsed into the vortex of dissipation. I became a member of a drinking-club, I partook of all polite and impolite amusements, and plunged into every extravagance without exception. I did not, however, escape without the punishment I deserved. I was seized suddenly with a dreadful fever; and such was its violence, that in a few days I was no more expected to recover. In this situation I lay in my hammock until the 17th of May, with only a soldier and my black boy to attend me, and without any other friend; when happily poor Joanna, one morning, entered my apartment, to my unspeakable joy and surprize, with one of her sisters. She informed me that she was acquainted with my forlorn situation; that if I still entertained for her the same good opinion, her only request was, that she might wait upon me till I should be recovered. I indeed gratefully accepted her offer; and by her unremitting care and attention had the good fortune so far to regain my health and spirits, as to be able, in a few days after, to take an airing in Mr. Kennedy’s carriage.

‘ Till this time I had chiefly been Joanna’s friend; but now I began to feel I was her captive. I renewed my wild proposals of purchasing, educating, and transporting her to Europe; which, though offered with the most perfect sincerity, were, by her, rejected once more, with this humble declaration:

“ I am born a low contemptible slave. Were you to treat me with too much attention, you must degrade yourself with all your friends and relations; while the purchase of my freedom you will find expensive, difficult, and apparently impossible. Yet though a slave, I have a soul, I hope, not inferior

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to that of an European; and blush not to avow the regard I retain for you, who have distinguished me so much above all others of my unhappy birth. You have, sir, pitied me; and now, independent of every other thought, I shall have pride in throwing myself at your feet, till fate shall part us, or my conduct become such as to give you cause to banish me from your presence."

"This was uttered with a downcast look, and tears dropping on her heaving bosom, while she held her companion by the hand. From that instant this excellent creature was mine;—nor had I ever after cause to repent of the step I had taken, as will more particularly appear in the course of this narrative.

"I cannot omit to record, that having purchased for her presents to the value of 20 guineas, I was the next day greatly astonished to see all my gold returned upon my table; the charming Joanna having carried every article back to the merchants, who cheerfully returned her the money.

"*"Your generous sentiments alone, sir,"* she said, *"were sufficient; but allow me to tell you, that I cannot help considering any superfluous expence on my account as a diminution of that good opinion which I hope you have, and will ever entertain, of my disinterested disposition."*

"Such was the language of a slave, who had simple nature only for her instructor, the purity of whose sentiments stood in need of no comment, and these I was now determined to improve by every care.

"I shall now only add, that a regard for her superior virtues, so singular amongst her cast, gratitude for her particular attention to me, and the pleasure of producing to the world such an accomplished character under the appearance of a slave, could alone embolden me to risk the censure of my readers, by intruding on them this subject: let this be my apology, and if it be accepted but by few, I shall not be inclined to complain.

"In the evening I visited Mr. Demelly, who, with his lady, congratulated me on my recovery from sickness; and at the same time, however strange it may appear to many readers,

they, with a smile, wished me joy of what, with their usual good-humour, they were pleased to call my conquest; which, one of the ladies in company assured me, while it was perhaps censured by some, was applauded by many, but she believed in her heart *envied* by all.—A decent wedding, at which many of our respectable friends made their appearance, and at which I was as happy as any bridegroom ever was, concluded the ceremony.

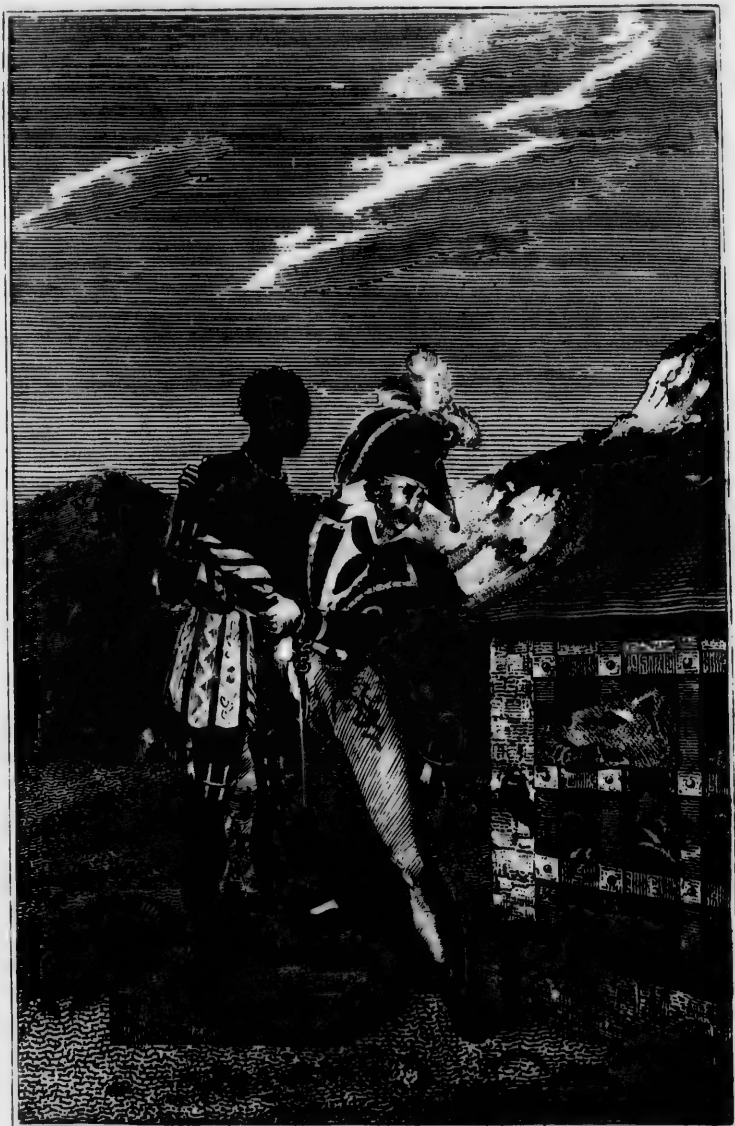
‘ On the 21st of March, 1773, our lieutenant-colonel Lantman died, and a number of our officers lay sick. The remains of the deceased officer were interred with military honours, in the centre of the fortress Zealandia, where all criminals are imprisoned, and all field officers buried. At this place I was not a little shocked, to see the captive rebel negroes and others clanking their chains, and roasting plantains and yams upon the sepulchres of the dead; they presented to my imagination, the image of a number of diabolical fiends in the shape of African slaves, tormenting the souls of their European persecutors. From these gloomy mansions of despair, on this day, seven captive negroes were selected, who being led by a few soldiers to the place of execution, which is in the Savannah, where the sailors and soldiers are interred, six were hanged, and one broken alive upon the rack, with an iron bar.

‘ Having testified how much I was hurt at the cruelty of the above execution, and surprized at the intrepidity with which the negroes bore their punishment, a decent looking man stepped up to me, “ Sir,” said he, “ you are but a new-comer from Europe, and know very little about the African slaves, or you would testify both less feeling and surprize.

‘ “ Not long ago, (continued he) I saw a black man suspended alive from a gallows, by the ribs, between which, with a knife, was first made an incision, and then clinched an iron hook with a chain; in this manner he kept alive three days, hanging with his head and feet downwards, and catching with his tongue the drops of water (it being the rainy season) that were floating down his bloated breast. Notwithstanding all this he never complained, and even upbraided a negro for crying while he was flogged below the gallows, by calling out

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RAINSFORD'S ACCOUNT OF ST. DOMINGO.



MODE OF TRAINING BLOOD HOUNDS.

Published by Mackenzie & Dent

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to him—You man?—*De cay fasy?* Are you a man? you behave like a boy. Shortly after which he was knocked on the head by the commiserating sentry, who stood over him, with the butt end of his musket.

“Another negro, (said he,) I have seen quartered alive; who, after four strong horses were fastened to his legs and arms, and after having had iron sprigs driven home underneath every one of his nails on hands and feet, without a motion, he first asked a dram, and then bid them pull away, without a groan; but what afforded us the greatest entertainment, (continued he) were the fellow’s jokes, by desiring the executioner to drink before him, in case there should chance to be poison in the glass, and bidding him take care of his horses, lest any of them should happen to strike backwards. As for old men being broken upon the rack, and young women roasted alive chained to stakes, there can nothing be more common in this colony.”—I was petrified at the inhuman detail; and breaking away with execrations from this diabolical scene of laceration, made the best of my way home to my own lodgings.

Whenever the fugitive negroes attacked a plantation colonel Fourgeoud’s troops were instantly prepared for service; but, when the alarm subsided, they were ordered to leave the colony. This state of unpleasant uncertainty was at last terminated, by the intelligence that an officer of the Society’s troops had been shot dead by the rebels, and his whole party, consisting of about 30 men, entirely cut to pieces. By this time the marines from being a corps of the finest and healthiest young men that ever sailed from Europe, with ruddy fresh complexions, were now changed to the sallow colour of a drum-head. The civilities of the men, and the kindness of the ladies also, combined to render Surinam a real *Capua* to these brave fellows.

‘We now seriously prepared for victory or death, on board the wooden walls of the colony, which consisted of half a dozen crazy old sugar barges, such as are used by the colliers in the Thames, being only roofed over with boards, which gave them the appearance of so many coffins; and how well they

deserved this name, I am afraid will too soon appear by the number of men they buried.

‘ It is a painful circumstance, that the narrative of my travels must so frequently prove the record of cruelty and barbarity: but once for all I must declare, that I state these facts merely in the hope that it may, in some mode or other, operate for their future prevention. Before my departure, I was informed of a most shocking instance of depravity, which had just occurred. A Jewess, impelled by a groundless jealousy, (for such her husband made it appear) put an end to the life of a young and beautiful Quadroon girl, by the infernal means of plunging into her body a red-hot poker. But what is most incredible, and what indeed will scarcely be believed in a civilized country, is, that for this most diabolical crime the murderess was only banished to the Jew-Savannah, a village which I shall afterwards describe, and condemned in a trifling fine to the fiscal or town-clerk of the colony.

• Another young negro woman, having her ankles chained so close together that she could scarcely move her feet, was knocked down with a cane by a Jew, and beaten till the blood streamed out of her head, her arms, and her naked sides. So accustomed, indeed, are the people of this country to tyranny and insolence, that a third Israelite had the impudence to strike one of my soldiers, for having made water against his garden-fence. On this miscreant I took revenge for the whole fraternity, by wresting the offending weapon out of his hand, which I instantly broke into a thousand pieces on his guilty naked pate.

‘ In the evening, having entertained some select friends in my house, I bade farewell to my Joanna, to whose care I left my all; and herself to the protection of her mother and aunt, with my directions for putting her to school until my return: after which, I at last marched on board, with four subalterns, two serjeants, three corporals, and 32 men under my command, to be divided into two barges, and bound for the upper part of the river Cottica.

‘ The two barges were all armed with swivels, blunderbusses, &c. and provided with an allowance for one month: their

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orders were (that which went to the Jews Savannah excepted) to cruize up and down the upper parts of the rivers, each barge having a pilot, and rowed by negroe slaves, ten of which were on board of each for the purpose, and which made my complement, including my black boy Quaco, exactly sixty-five, thirty-five of which embarked with myself. With this ship's company was I now stowed in my hen-coop; while on my lieutenant's barge the crew consisted of twenty-nine only, and consequently were less crowded.

‘ On the 1st of July we were going to be stationed where absolutely no kind of refreshment was to be had, being surrounded by the most horrid and impenetrable woods, beyond the hearing of a cannon-shot from any port or plantation whatever. This was not the case with the other barges, who were stationed in the midst of peace and plenty, being within view of the most beautiful estates. We were indeed pitied by all ranks without exception; who foreseeing our approaching calamities, crowded my barge with the best commodities they had to present, which they insisted upon my accepting.

‘ On the 3d of July, 1773, at 4 o'clock in the morning, the fleet cast off from their moorings, and with the ebb tide rowed down as far as the fortress New Amsterdam, where, being wind and tide bound, we dropped anchor off the battery. Having first reviewed both my ships' companies, stowed the luggage, and slung the hammocks, I perused my orders, which were to cruize up and down Rio Cottica, between the Society posts, La Rochel at Patamaca, and Slans Welveren above the last plantation, to prevent the rebels from crossing the river, to seize or kill them if possible, and protect the estates from their invasions: in all which operations I was to be assisted, if necessary by the troops of the Society on the above posts, with whom I was also to deliberate on the proper signals to be given in case of an alarm.

On the 4th of July, in the morning, we weighed anchor; and having doubled the Cape, rowed with the flood till we arrived before Elizabeth's Hope, a beautiful coffee plantation, where the proprietor, Mr. Klynham, inviting us on shore, shewed us every civility in his power, and loaded my barge

with refreshing fruits, vegetables, &c. He told us that he pitied our situation from his heart, and foretold the miseries we were going to encounter, the rainy season being just at hand, or indeed having already commenced, by frequent showers, accompanied with large claps of thunder. "As for the enemy," said he, "you may depend on not seeing one single soul of them; they know better than to make their appearance openly, while they may have a chance of seeing you from under cover: thus, sir, take care to be upon your guard—but the climate, the climate will murder you all. However," continued he, "this shews the the zeal of your commander, who will rather see you killed, than see you eat the bread of idleness at Paramaribo."—This pleasant harangue he accompanied by a squeeze by the hand. We then took our leave, while the beautiful Mrs. Dutry, his daughter, shed tears at our departure.—This evening we anchored before the Matapaca creek.

'I here created my two barges men of war, and named them the *Charon* and the *Cerberus*, by which names I shall distinguish them during the rest of the voyage; though the *Sudden Death* and the *Wilful Murder* were much more applicable, as will be seen. We now continued rowing up the river Cottica, having passed, since we entered Rio Comewina, some most enchantingly beautiful estates of coffee and sugar, which line the banks of both these rivers, at the distance of one or two miles from each other.

'We again kept rowing upwards, and at length cast anchor off the fort Slans Weleren, which was guarded by the troops of the Society. Here I stepped on shore with my officers, to wait on captain Orzinga, the commander, and delivered three of my sick men into his hospital; where I beheld such a spectacle of misery and wretchedness as baffles all imagination: this place having been formerly called *Devil's Harwar*, on account of its intolerable unhealthiness.

'Here I saw a few of the wounded wretches, who had escaped from the engagement in which lieutenant Lepper, with so many men, had been killed; and one of them told me the particulars of his own miraculous escape:—"I was shot,

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sir," said he, "with a musket-ball in my breast; and to resist or escape being impossible, as the only means left me to save my life I threw myself down among the mortally wounded, and the dead, without moving hand or foot. Here in the evening, the rebel chief, surveying his conquest, ordered one of his captains to begin instantly to cut off the heads of the slain, in order to carry them home to their village, as trophies of their victory: this captain, having already chopped off that of lieutenant Lepper, and one or two more, said to his friend, *Sonde go sleeby, caba mekewe liby den tara dogo tay tamara*; The sun is just going to sleep, we must leave those other dogs till to-morrow. Upon saying which (continued the soldier) as I lay on my bleeding breast, with my face resting on my left-arm, he, dropping his hatchet into my shoulder, made the fatal wound you see, of which I shall perhaps no more recover.—I however lay quite still. They went away, carrying along with them the mangled heads of my comrades, and five or six prisoners alive, with their hands tied behind their backs, of whom I never since have heard. When all was quiet, and it was very dark, I found means, on my hands and feet, to creep out from among the carnage, and get under cover in the forest, where I met another of our soldiers, who was less wounded than myself; with whom, after 10 days wandering, in torment and despair, without bandages, not knowing which way to proceed, and only one single loaf of black bread for our subsistence, we at last arrived at the military post of Patamaca, emaciated, and our putrefied wounds full of live worms."

' On the following day we continued to row farther up the river, till we came before the Cormoetibo creek, where we moored the fleet, as being my head station, by colonel Fourgeoud's command. Here we saw nothing but water, wood, and clouds; no trace of humanity, and consequently the place had a most dismal, solitary appearance.

' On the 10th I detached the Cerberus to her station, viz. Upper Patamaca; for which place she rowed immediately, with a long list of paroles, according to my orders, but which were never of any service.

'We now tried to cook the victuals on board; our furnace was a large tub filled with earth, and we succeeded, at the expence of having almost scalded one of my men to death, and at the hazard of setting the barge once more on fire. As we had no surgeon along with us, this office fell to my lot; and, by the help of a small chest of medicines, I performed so well, that in a few days the scalded marine recovered.

'To prevent, however, a similar accident again, I sought an opening in the creek above-named, which having found not very far from the mouth, I ordered my negroes to build a shed, and my men to dress their victuals below it, placing sentinels around them to prevent a surprize, and in the evening we returned to our station. This cooking we continued to perform every day, until the 14th, when we rowed down to Barbacoba; and, on the 15th, to Devil's Harwar for repair, where I put one of my sick negroes in the hospital.

'On the 18th, by a water-patrole from the Cerberus, I received intelligence this evening, that the men began to be sickly; and on the following day I was informed, that on the spot where we had dressed our victuals, in the Cormoetibo creek, and which is on the rebel side of the river, a strong detachment had lately been murdered by the enemy. I therefore ordered the shed to be burnt to the ground, and the meat to be dressed on board the barges. Here all the elements now seemed to unite in opposing us; the water pouring down like a deluge, the heavy rains forced themselves fore and aft into the vessel, where they set every thing afloat; the air was infested with myriads of musquitoes, which, from sun-set to sun-rising, constantly kept us company, and prevented us from getting any sleep, and left us in the morning besmeared all over with blood, and full of blotches. The smoak of the fire and tobacco, which we burnt to annoy them, was enough to choak us; and not a foot-step of land could we find, where we might cook our salt provisions in safety. To all this misery may be added, that discord broke out between the marines and the negroes, with whom, as promises or threats had as yet no weight, I was obliged to have recourse to other means.-- I tied up the ringleaders of both parties; and after ordering

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the first to be well flogged, and the latter to be horse-whipped for half an hour, after due suspense and expectation, I pardoned them all without one lash. This had equally the effect of the punishment, and peace was perfectly re-established; but to prevent approaching disease was totally out of my power. Not all the golden rules in Dr. Armstrong's beautiful poem upon health could avail in this situation.

' We rowed down on the 20th, till we arrived before the Casapoere creek, in hopes of meeting some relief, but were equally uncomfortable. So very thick were mosquitoes now, that by clapping my two hands together, I have actually killed to the number of thirty-eight at one stroke.

' In rowing down at Barbacoebb, we saw one or two beautiful snakes swim across the river. In the course of our progress we occasionally met with a little relief, by stepping ashore under the shade. I now had recourse to the advice of an old negro.—“Carama,” said I, “what methods do you take to preserve your health?”—“Swim every day twice or thrice, sir,” said he, “in the river. This, massera, not only serves for exercise where I cannot walk, but keeps my skin clean and cool; and the pores being open, I enjoy a free perspiration. Without this, by imperceptible filth, the pores are shut, the *juécos* stagnate, and disease must inevitably follow.” Having recompensed the old gentleman with a dram, I instantly stripped and plunged headlong into the river. I had, however, no sooner taken this leap, than he called to me for God's sake to come on board; which having done with much astonishment, he reminded me of the alligators, as well as of a fish which is here called *pery*.—“Both these, sir,” said he, “are exceedingly dangerous, but by following my directions you will run no hazard. You may swim entirely naked, only take care that you constantly keep in motion; for the moment you are quiet, you run the risk of their snapping off a limb, or being dragged to the bottom.”

' I acknowledge his account at first discouraged me from the plan of daily bathing for health; but finding by following his direction that the dangers he represented were to be avoided, I resolved to follow it, and derived great benefit from the

practice as long as I remained in the colony. This negro also advised me to walk bare-footed and thinly dressed. "Now is the season, massera," said he, "to use your feet to become hard, by walking on the smooth boards of the vessel; the time may come when you will be obliged to do so for want of shoes, in the midst of thorns and briers, as I have seen some others. Custom," said he, "massera, is second nature: our feet were all made alike. Do so as I advise you; and in the end you will thank old Caramaca. As for being thinly dressed, a shirt and trowsers is quite sufficient; which not only saves trouble and expence, but the body wants air, as well as it does water: so bathe in both when you have the opportunity."—From that moment I followed his counsels, to which, besides being cleanly and cool, I in a great measure ascribe the preservation of my life. I now frequently thought on Paramaribo, where I enjoyed all the delicacies of life; while here I was forced to have recourse to many expedients much worse than any savage; yet should I not have repined had any person profited by our sufferings.—But I am forgetting the articles of war, viz. implicitly to obey, and ask no questions.

Lieutenant Stromer of the *Cerberus*, with a serjeant and six privates, were sent sick to the hospital at Devil's Farrow, and the whole party was in a miserable state, having no fresh meat, and the clothes and hammocks rotting from day to day. Captain Stedman's other officer Macdonald fell sick. Having no surgeon, some medicines were daily distributed to the men, who, loading their stomachs with heavy salt provisions, and using no exercise, had sometimes occasion for art to assist nature. But these briny meals of pork and beef, colonel Fourgeoud insisted were much more wholesome food in a tropical country than fresh provisions; for, by a most curious theory, he asserted that the latter corrupted the stomach by the heat, whereas the other underwent a proper digestion. Our author gives the following outlines of his commander's character.

"Colonel Fourgeoud was impetuous, passionate, self-sufficient, and revengeful: he was not cruel to individuals, but was a tyrant to the generality, and caused the death of hun-

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dreds by his sordid avarice and oppression. With all this he was partial, ungrateful, and confused; but a most indefatigable man in bearing hardships and in braving dangers, not exceeded by Columbus himself, which, like a true buccaneer, he sustained with the most heroic courage, patience, and perseverance. Though unconquerably harsh and severe to his officers, he was however not wanting in affability to the private soldiers. He had read, but had no education to assist him in digesting what he read. In short, few men could talk better, but on most occasions few could act worse.'

On the 9th of August, colonel Fourgeoud sent orders for Stedman's party to continue in this forlorn station, accompanying the letter with a present of fish-hooks and tackle, to make up for the deficiency of other refreshments; and, indeed, the salt provisions were daily growing both worse and less. The men by the constant use of unwholesome food, and the incessant attacks of myriads of insects, were covered with ulcers, and were, with difficulty, restrained from breaking out into a state of mutiny; and, to add to the difficulties of his situation, our author himself was at last attacked with a fever.

'On the 23d,' continues he, 'I felt myself rather better; and between the fits of the fever shot a couple of large black monkeys to make some broth, to supply the want of fresh provisions; but as the destruction of one of these animals was attended with such circumstances, as for ever after had almost deterred me from going a monkey-hunting, I must beg leave to relate them as they happened:—Seeing me on the side of the river in the canoe, the creature made a halt from skipping after his companions, and being perched on a branch that hung over the water, examined me with attention, and the strongest marks of curiosity: no doubt, taking me for a giant of his own species; while he chattered prodigiously, and kept dancing and shaking the bough on which he rested with incredible strength and agility. At this time I laid my piece to my shoulder, and brought him down from the tree into the stream;—but may I never again be a witness to such a scene! The miserable animal was not dead, but mortally wounded.

I seized him by the tail, and taking it in both my hands to end his torment, I swung him round, and hit his head against the side of the canoe; but the poor creature still continued alive, and looking at me in the most affecting manner that can be conceived, I knew no other means to end this murder, than to hold him under water till he was drowned, while my heart felt sick on his account: for his dying little eyes still continued to follow me with seeming reproach, till their light gradually forsook them, and the wretched animal expired. I felt so much on this occasion, that I could neither taste of him nor his companion, when they were dressed, though I saw that they afforded to some others a delicious repast.

‘That monkies, especially when young, are no bad food, may easily be accounted for, since they feed on nothing but fruit, nuts, eggs, young birds, &c.; and indeed, in my opinion, all young quadrupeds are eatable: but when one compares those which are killed in the woods to those filthy and disgusting creatures that disgrace the streets, no wonder that they should disgust the least delicate stomach. As for the wild ones, I have eaten them boiled, roasted, and stewed, and found their flesh white, juicy, and good: the only thing that disgusted me was, their hands and their heads, which when dressed, being deprived of the skin, appeared like the hands and the skull of a young infant.

‘I had before killed some of a beautiful species, and very delicate when dressed; they are called the *keesee-keesee* by the inhabitants, are about the size of a rabbit, and most astonishingly nimble. The colour of their body is reddish, and the tail, which is long, is black at the extremity; but the fore-feet are orange colour. The head is very round, the face milk white, with a round black patch in the middle, in which are the mouth and the nostrils; and this disposition of the features give it the appearance of a mask: the eyes are black, and remarkably lively. These monkies we saw daily pass along the sides of the river, skipping from tree to tree, but mostly about mid-day, and in very numerous bodies, regularly following each other like a little army, with their young ones on their backs, not unlike little knapsacks. Their manner of travel-

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ling is thus: the foremost walks to the extremity of a bough, from which it bounds to the extremity of one belonging to the next tree, often at a most astonishing distance, and with such wonderful activity and precision, that it never once misses its aim: the others one by one, and even the females, with their little ones on their backs, which stick fast to their mother, follow their leader, and perform the same leap with the greatest seeming facility and safety: they are also remarkable for climbing up the *nebees* or natural ropes, with which many parts of the forest are interwoven. The *nebees* grow in such a manner as to afford the appearance at first sight of a fleet at anchor. The *keesee-keesee* is such a beautiful and delicate fond creature, that it is by many people kept as a favourite, when it wears a silver chain. Besides its mimic drolleries, it is remarkable for its good-nature and chirruping voice, which pronounces *peeteeco peeteeco* without intermission. They are easily tamed, and are taken by a strong glue made by the Indians, which is something like our European bird-lime.

‘I was, on the 24th, exceedingly ill indeed, not being able to sit up in my hammock, under which the black boy Quaco now lay, crying for his master, and on the following day the poor lad himself fell sick; at the same time I was also obliged to send three men in a fever to Devil’s Harwar. As misfortunes often crowd together, I received, at this fatal period, the melancholy account that the officer, Mr. Owen, was also dead, having expired on his passage downwards at the estate Alica, where he was buried. My ensign, Mr. Cottenburg, who had since gone to Paramaribo, died next; and for myself no better was now to be expected. In the height of a burning fever I now lay, forsaken by all my officers and men, without a friend to comfort me, and without assistance of any kind, except what the poor remaining negro slaves could afford me, by boiling a little water to make some tea. In this situation the reader may judge the consolation which was afforded me, the very evening when these accumulated misfortunes seemed to threaten our extinction, by the receipt of an order from the colonel, to come down with both the barges to Devil’s Harwar, where I was again to take post on shore, and relieve captain

Orzinga, of the Society service, who with his men was to proceed to La Rochelle in Patamaca, to strengthen the troops already there. Ill as I was, this had such a powerful effect on my spirits, that I immediately ordered the Cerberus down to the mouth of the Cormoetibo creek, where she joined me that evening.

‘As I was resting in my hammock, between the paroxysms of my fever, about half way between Cormoetibo and Barba-coeba, while the Charon was floating down, the sentinel called to me that he had seen and challenged something black and moving in the brush-wood on the beach, which gave no answer; but which, from its size, he concluded must be a man. I immediately dropped anchor; and having manned the canoe, ill as I was, I stepped into it, and rowed up to the place mentioned by the sentinel. Here we stepped ashore to reconnoitre, as I suspected it to be no other than a rebel spy, or a straggling party detached by the enemy; but one of my slaves, of the name of David, declared it was no negro, but a large amphibious snake, which could not be far from the beach, and I might have an opportunity of shooting it if I pleased. To this, however, I had not the least inclination, from the uncommon size of the creature, from my weakness, and the difficulty of getting through the thicket, which seemed impenetrable to the water's edge; and therefore ordered all of them to return on board. The negro then asked me liberty to step forward and shoot it himself, assuring me it could not be at any great distance, and warranting me against all danger.—This declaration inspired me with so much pride and emulation, that I determined to take his first advice, and kill it myself; provided he would point it out to me, and be responsible for the hazard, by standing at my side, from which I swore that if he dared to move, I should level the piece at himself, and blow out his own brains.

To this the negro cheerfully agreed; and having loaded my gun with a ball-cartridge, we proceeded; David cutting a path with a bill-hook, and a marine following, with three more loaded firelocks to keep in readiness. We had not gone above twenty yards through mud and water, the negro looking every

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way with an uncommon degree of vivacity and attention ; when starting behind me, he called out, " Me see snakee ! " and in effect there lay the animal, rolled up under the fallen leaves and rubbish of the trees ; and so well covered, that it was some time before I distinctly perceived the head of this monster, distant from me not above 16 feet, with its forked tongue, while its eyes, from their uncommon brightness, appeared to emit sparks of fire. I now, resting my piece upon a branch, for the purpose of taking a surer aim, fired ; but missing the head, the ball went through the body, when the animal struck round, and with such astonishing force as to cut away all the underwood around him with the facility of a scythe mowing grass ; and by flouncing his tail, caused the mud and dirt to fly over our heads to a considerable distance. Of this proceeding, however, we were not torpid spectators, but took to our heels, and crowded into the canoe. The negro now intreated me to renew the charge, assuring me the snake would be quiet in a few minutes, and at any rate persisting in the assertion that he was neither able nor inclined to pursue us ; which opinion he supported by walking before me, till I should be ready to fire. And thus I again undertook to make the trial, especially as he said that his first starting backwards had only proceeded from a desire to make room for me. I now found the snake a little removed from his former station, but very quiet, with his head as before, lying out among the fallen leaves, rotten bark, and old moss. I fired at it immediately, but with no better success than the other time : and now, being but slightly wounded, he sent up such a cloud of dust and dirt, as I never saw but in a whirlwind, and made us once more suddenly retreat to our canoe ; where now, being heartily tired of the exploit, I gave orders to row towards the barge : but David still intreating me to permit *him* to kill the animal, I was, by his persuasions, induced to make a third and last attempt, in company with him. Thus, having once more discovered the snake, we discharged both our pieces at once, and with this good effect, that he was now by one of us shot through the head. David, who was now made completely happy by this successful conclusion, ran leaping with

joy, and lost no time in bringing the boat-rope, in order to drag him down to the canoe; but this again proved not a very easy undertaking, since the creature, notwithstanding its being mortally wounded, still continued to writhe and twist about, in such a manner as rendered it dangerous for any person to approach him. The negro, however, having made a running noose on the rope, after some fruitless attempts to make an approach, threw it over his head with much dexterity; and now, all taking hold of the rope, we dragged him to the beach, and tied him to the stern of the canoe, to take him in tow. Being still alive, he kept swimming like an eel; and I having no relish for such a shipmate on board, whose length (notwithstanding to my astonishment all the negroes declared it to be but a young one come to about its half growth) I found upon measuring it to be 22 feet and some inches; and its thickness about that of my black boy Quaco, who might then be about 12 years old, and round whose waist I since measured the creature's skin.

Being arrived along-side of the Charon, the next consideration was, how to dispose of this immense animal; when it was at length determined to bring him on shore at Barbacoeba, to have him skinned, and take out the oil, &c. In order to effect this purpose, the negro David having climbed up a tree with the end of the rope, let it down over a strong forked bough, and the other negroes hoisted up the snake, and suspended him from the tree. This done, David, with a sharp knife between his teeth, now left the tree, and clung fast upon the monster, which was still twisting, and began his operations by ripping it up, and stripping down the skin as he descended. Though I perceived that the animal was no longer able to do him any injury, I confess I could not without emotion see a man stark naked, black and bloody, clinging with arms and legs round the slimy and yet living monster. This labour, however, was not without its use, since he not only dexterously finished the operation, but provided me, besides the skin, with above four gallons of fine clarified fat, or rather oil, though there was wasted perhaps as much more. This I delivered to the surgeons at Devil's Harwar, for the use of

STEDMAN'S ACCOUNT OF SURINAM.



THE SKINNING OF THE BOA SNAKE.

Published by Mackenzie & Dent.

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the wounded men in the hospital, for which I received their hearty thanks, it being considered, particularly for bruises, a very excellent remedy. When I signified my surprize to see the snake still living, after he was deprived of his intestines and skin, Caramaca, the old negro, whether from experience or tradition, assured me he would not die till after sunset. The negroes now cut him in slices, in order to dress and feast upon him, they all declaring that he was exceedingly good and wholesome; but to their great mortification I refused to give my concurrence, and we rowed down with the skin to Devil's Harwar.

Of this species several skins are preserved in the British and Mr. Parkinson's museums. It is called by Mr. Westley *lyboa*, and *boa* in the British Encyclopædia, to which publication I refer the reader for a perfect account, and an excellent engraving of this wonderful creature, which in the colony of Surinam is called *aboma*. Its length, when full grown, is said to be sometimes 40 feet, and more than four feet in circumference; its colour is a greenish black on the back; a fine brownish yellow on the sides, and a dirty white under the belly: the back and sides being spotted with irregular black rings, with a pure white in the middle. Its head is broad and flat, small in proportion to the body, with a large mouth, and a double row of teeth: it has two bright prominent eyes; is covered all over with scales, some about the size of a shilling; and under the body, near the tail, armed with two strong claws like cock-spurs, to help it in seizing its prey. It is an amphibious animal, that is, delights in low and marshy places, where it lies coiled up like a rope, and concealed under moss, rotten timber, and dried leaves, to seize its prey by surprize, which from its immense bulk it is not active enough to pursue. When hungry, it will devour any animal that comes within its reach, and is indifferent whether it is a sloth, a wild boar, a stag, or even a tiger; round which having twisted itself by the help of its claws, so that the creature cannot escape, it breaks, by its irresistible force, every bone in the animal's body, which it then covers over with a kind of slime or slaver from its mouth, to make it slide; and at last gradually sucks



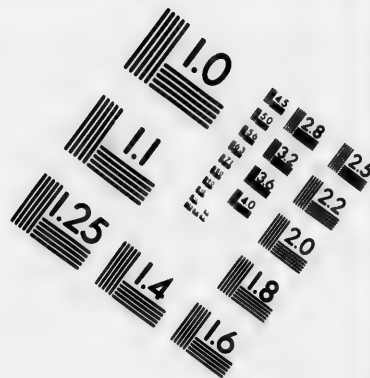
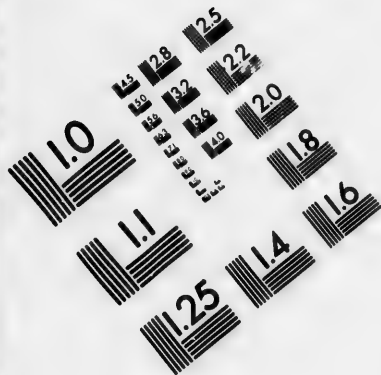
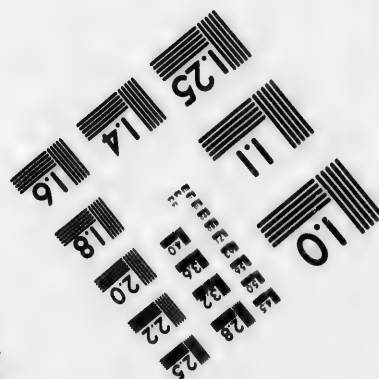
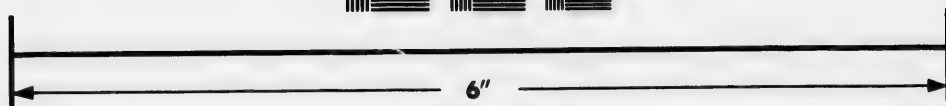
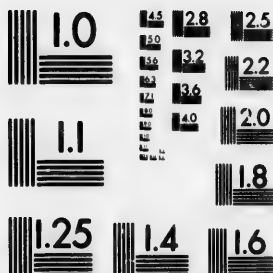


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it in, till it disappears: after this, the aboma cannot shift its situation, on account of the great knob or knot which the swallowed prey occasions in that part of the body where it rests till it is digested; for till then it would hinder the snake from sliding along the ground. During that time the aboma wants no other subsistence.

'On the 27th of August I relieved captain Orzinga with his men, and took the command of Devil's Harwar, having been on board the Charon exactly 56 days, in the most wretched condition that can be described. The next evening he entertained me and my two subalterns with a supper of *fresh meat*, both roast and boiled, to our great comfort and surprize; but which, to my unspeakable mortification, proved to be the individual poor cow with her calf, on which we had built all our hopes for a little relief.

'On the morning of the 28th the Society troops rowed to Patamaca, when, examining the 20 soldiers they had left me, they proved to be the refuse of the whole, part were sick with agues, wounds, ruptures, and rotten limbs, and most of them next day were obliged to enter the hospital.'

In this forlorn situation, captain Stedman received information that the rebels had destroyed three estates in his neighbourhood, and cut all the throats of the white inhabitants that fell in their way. 'Conscious,' says our author, 'of my defenceless situation, I immediately started up; and the express who brought the letter having spread the news the moment of his landing, there was no necessity of beating to arms, since not only the few soldiers who were well, but the whole hospital burst out; and several of them, in spite of my opposition, crawling on their hands and feet to their arms, dropped dead upon the spot.—May I never behold such another scene of misery and distress! Lame, blind, sick, and wounded, in the hope of preserving a wretched existence, rushed upon certain death!

'Being, after much anxious watching, persuaded that the rebels must have past the Cordon, without having thought proper to pay us a visit on their retreat, I determined to let the remaining few watch no longer, but permit them to die a

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natural death. At last, in the evening, when all was too late, there came down by water from the post La Rochelle to our assistance, one officer and 10 men.—I having had but seven left to do the duty at the time of their arrival.

‘On Sept. 4th we buried one of my marines, and on the following day another died; and I had not one now remaining who was not ill, or who was not rendered unserviceable, by his feet being swelled with the insects called *chigoes*: these poor men were mostly Germans, who had been accustomed to a healthy climate in their own country. I began now to be reconciled to putting my last man under ground, and almost wishing to leap into the grave after him myself; when a barge arrived from Paramaribo with a proper reinforcement, ammunition, provisions, medicines, a surgeon, and an order from my chief to trace out the track of the rebels immediately, on the former path of communication called the Cordon, between Cottica and Perica.

‘Every thing being ready for my small party, which consisted of myself, an officer of the Society, Mr. Hertsbergh, one surgeon’s mate, one guide, two serjeants, two corporals, 40 privates, and only eight negro slaves to cut open the passage, and carry the baggage, we faced to the right at six o’clock in the morning, and sallied forth into the woods, keeping our course directly for the Perica river; and having marched till about 11 o’clock on the Cordon, I discovered, as I had expected, the track of the rebels by the marks of their footsteps in the mud, by the broken bottles, plantain-shells, &c. and found that by appearance it bore towards Pinneburgh.

‘I had now indeed found the nest, but the birds were flown. We continued our march till eight o’clock, when we arrived at the Society post Scribo in Perica, in a most shocking condition, having waded through water and mire above our hips, climbed over heaps of fallen trees, and crept underneath on our bellies. This, however, was not the worst, for our flesh was terribly mangled and torn by the thorns, and stung by the Patat lice, ants, and wassy-wassy, or wild bees.

'The worst of our sufferings, however, was the fatigue of marching in a burning sun, and the last two hours in total darkness, holding each other by the hand; and having left 10 men behind, some with agues, some stung blind, and some with their feet full of chigoes. After being in the most hospitable manner received at Scribo by the commanding officer, I went to my hammock very ill of a fever.

'On the following morning I felt myself better for my night's rest; but neither myself nor my men were able to march back, wherefore the other captain sent a small party of his soldiers to pick up the poor marines I had lost the day before, and of whom they brought with them seven, carried in hammocks tied to poles, each by two negroes, the other three having scrambled back to Devil's Harwar.

'During our stay here I wrote a letter to colonel Fourgeoud, couched in such terms as few people in their full senses would do to their commanders, viz. that I had found the path; that if I had had support in time I might have cut off the enemy's retreat, instead of finding their foot-steps only; but that now all was too late, and the party all knocked up to no purpose. This letter, I have been since told, incensed him, as it is easy to suppose, in the highest degree. Being sufficiently refreshed to renew my march, we left Scribo on the 9th, at four o'clock in the morning, and at four o'clock P. M. arrived, after indescribable sufferings, at Devil's Harwar, covered over with mud and blood, and our legs and thighs cut and torn by the thorns and branches; most of the men being without shoes and stockings of necessity, while I, who had gone this march in the same condition from choice, had absolutely suffered the least of the whole party, by having inured myself gradually to walk barefooted on the barges.

'At Devil's Harwar, I now found lieutenant-colonel Westerlo and a quarter-master arrived to take the command, his troops not being expected till the next day. I was by this circumstance, made exceedingly happy, hoping at last to meet with some relief; and having ceded him my written orders, the magazine, hospital, &c. &c. I stripped and plunged into

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the river to wash myself and take a swim, by which (being before much over-heated) I found myself greatly refreshed, as well as by receiving a quantity of fine fruit, Jamaica rum, wine and sugar, from Joanna;—but how did my blood chill, when the quarter-master told me, as a secret, that my serjeant, one Fowler, having first got drunk with my wine, offered violence to this poor woman; and that he was to be at Devil's Harwar next day, when I should see the marks of her just resentment on his face!

‘The reader will, I trust, excuse my violence, when I tell him, that I vowed immediate destruction to the villain: and having ordered a negro to cut 12 bamboo canes, I retired like a person deprived of his senses, determined to punish him according to his supposed crime.

‘On the 10th there arrived two subalterns, with a second barge full of men, ammunition, medicines, and provisions, which having marched into quarters and stowed, I sent for the hapless Fowler, whose face being in three places wounded, I locked him up in a room, and, without asking one question, broke six of the bamboos over his head, till he escaped all bloody out at the window, and my resentment gradually abated. He certainly had suffered much, but nothing equal to what were my sensations, at being still further informed, that colonel Fourgeoud had seized all my effects, which he had sealed and locked up in an empty store-room, in expectation of my decease, which, according to all appearances, might be looked for; while my house was given to another, by which means I could not procure so much as a clean shirt to relieve me from my disgraceful tatters: nevertheless, by the hope of going down myself, my spirits were supported. The other news, of more importance, was, that the hero in person, with most of the troops, had at last left Paramaribo; that he had quartered them partly at Devil's Harwar, in Rio Cottica, the estate Bellaiz, in Rio Perica, and at the estates Charenbeck, and Cravassibo, in Rio Commewina; whence, conjunctly with the troops of the Society and the rangers, he intended to move in quest of the rebels; that he had also ordered all the barges to be relieved at last, and their remaining troops to reinforce

the above-mentioned posts, which I must remark was a very wise and well-planned regulation.

‘ Having remonstrated with lieutenant-colonel Westerloo on the state of my health, which disabled me from joining the corps on their march, I requested that I might be removed to Paramaribo for the chance of recovery; but this he peremptorily refused to allow me, by colonel Fourgeoud’s express command. The refusal of so reasonable a request made me almost distracted, and agitated my spirits so much, that on the morning of the 12th, determined to exchange my wretched existence one way or other, I insisted on being immediately removed, or wished for *death*, which the surgeons declared must be the consequence soon, if I was not permitted to go down, and in the meanwhile I vowed that I should attribute my decease to their unprecedented barbarity. A consultation was now held on the subject; and at last, not without great difficulties, a boat was ordered to row me down to Paramaribo, but no white servant was permitted to attend me. Thus leaving the lieutenant-colonel employed in fortifying Devil’s Harwar with pallisadoes, where now also was a numerous garrison, I at 12 o’clock at noon walked to the water-side, supported by a negro, on whose shoulder I rested, till I at length stepped into the boat, followed by my black boy Quaco, and finally left the diabolical spot where I had buried so many brave fellows.

‘ On the 14th, having rowed day and night, at two o’clock in the morning we arrived at the town, extremely ill indeed; where, having no residence of my own, I was hospitably received at the house of a Mr. De La Marre, a merchant: this gentleman not only received me, but immediately sent a servant for poor Joanna, who was at her mother’s, and another for a physician to attend me, as my weak and hopeless condition now required every assistance that the town of Paramaribo could afford; and on the 15th, I found myself in an elegant and well-furnished apartment, caressed by my lovely mulatto.

‘ A captain Brant having at this time the command in colonel Fourgeoud’s absence, he sent, the morning after my arrival, my trunks and baggage, which had been sealed up; but on looking into them, I found I had enemies at home as well

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as abroad; since most of my shirts, books, &c. were gnawed to dust by the blatta or cockroach, called *cakreluce* in Surinam: nay, even my shoes were destroyed, of which I had brought with me twelve pairs new from Europe, as they were extremely dear and bad in this country.

‘ Having now time, I enquired concerning Fowler’s conduct; when, to my infinite surprize, I was informed that he had indeed got drunk, as was reported to me, by which he had fallen amongst the bottles and cut his face, but that he never had attempted the smallest rudeness: so much indeed was his conduct the reverse of what had been reported, that his inebriety had proceeded from his resentment at seeing both me and Joanna ill treated, and my property transported away against his inclination. I was now extremely chagrined at my past conduct, and was gently reproved by the *cause* of it, to whom I promised to be Fowler’s friend for ever after—and I kept my word. My fever was now much abated, but I was infected with another disorder peculiar to this climate, called in Surinam the ring-worm.

‘ On the 2d of October I was a little better, and was exalted from living like a savage, to the temporary command of a few troops left at Paramaribo, captain Brant being ordered to join Fourgeoud in Rio Comewina; when the colours, regiment’s cash, &c. were transmitted to my own lodging, and a sentinel placed before my door.

‘ The first exercise I made of my power was to discharge the sour wine, which had been bought for the sick officers as well as the men, whom I supplied, from the money now in my possession, with good wholesome claret; but I was sorry not to be able also to exchange the salt beef, pork, and pease, that were left at the *hospital*, for fresh provisions. This step was however particularly forbidden by the commander; while the butter, cheese, and tobacco were taken away, for which they got one quart of oil amongst ten, and their bread reduced to two pounds each man for a whole week. As to the officers, they were left to shift for themselves, or submit to the same allowance, notwithstanding they kept on paying their quota to a regimental mess, which now no longer existed.

' On the 6th the fever had left me, and the ring-worms began to abate; but the misery and hardships which I had so lately undergone still had an effect upon my constitution, and enormous boils broke out on my left thigh, which entirely prevented me from walking. My physician, however, ordering me daily to take the air, I had an opportunity this day of waiting on his excellency the governor of the colony, by the help of my friend Kennedy's chaise; and as I returned homeward, I stopped the carriage at the water-side, to behold a group of human beings, who had strongly attracted my attention. This group I shall circumstantially endeavour to describe. They were a drove of newly-imported negroes, men and women, with a few children, who were just landed from on board a Guinea ship that lay at anchor in the roads, to be sold for slaves. The whole party was such a set of scarcely animated automats, such a resurrection of skin and bone, as forcibly reminded me of the last trumpet. These objects appeared that moment to be risen from the grave, or escaped from surgeon's hall; and I confess I can give no better description of them, than by comparing them to walking skeletons covered over with a piece of tanned leather.

' Before these wretches, who might be in all about sixty in number, walked a sailor, and another followed behind with a bamboo-rattan; the one serving as a shepherd to lead them along, and the other as his dog to worry them occasionally, should any one lag behind, or wander away from the flock.— At the same time, however, equity demands the acknowledgment, that instead of all those horrid dejections which are described in pamphlets and news-papers, I perceived not one single downcast look amongst them all; and I must add, that the punishment of the bamboo was inflicted with the utmost moderation by the sailor who brought up the rear.

' Having sufficiently described their figures after landing, we now suppose them walking along the water-side, and through the streets, where every planter picks out that number which he stands in need of, to supply those lost by death or desertion, and begins to make a bargain with the captain. Good negroes are generally valued at from 50 to 100% each.

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Amongst these, should a woman chance to be pregnant, her price is augmented accordingly, for which reason I have known the captain of a Dutch Guinea vessel, who acknowledged himself to be the father, take advantage, with a brutality scarcely credited in Inkle and Yarico, of doubling the value, by selling his own offspring to the best bidder; for which, however, he was highly censured by his companions.

‘ The next circumstance that takes place before the bargain is struck, is to cause the negroes for sale, one after another, to mount on a hogshead or a table, where they are visited by a surgeon, who obliges them to make all the different gestures, with arms and legs, of a merry-andrew upon the stage, to prove their soundness or unsoundness; after which they are adopted by the buyer, or rejected, as he finds them fit for his purpose, or otherwise. If he keeps them, the money is paid down; and the new-bought negroes are immediately branded on the breast or the thick part of the shoulder, by a stamp made of silver, with the initial letters of the new master’s name, as we mark furniture or any thing else to authenticate them properly. These hot letters, which are about the size of a six-pence, occasion not that pain which may be imagined, and the blisters being rubbed directly with a little fresh butter, are perfectly well in the space of two or three days. No sooner is this ceremony over, and a new name given to the newly-bought slave, than he or she is delivered to an old one of the same sex, and sent to the estate, where each is properly kept clean by his guardian, instructed and well fed, without working, for the space of six weeks; during which period, from living skeletons, they become plump and fat, with a beautiful clean skin, till it is disfigured by the inhuman flogging of some rascally proprietor, or rather his overseer.

‘ On the 10th, the surgeon having lanced my thigh, I scrambled out once more, to witness the selling of slaves to the best bidder. After what has been related, the reader may form some judgment of my surprize and confusion, when I found among them my inestimable Joanna; the sugar-estate Paucaenberg, with its whole stock, being this day sold by an

execution, for the benefit of the creditors of its late possessor, Mr. D. B. who had fled.

‘I now felt all the horrors of the damned. I bewailed again and again my unlucky fortune, that did not enable me to become her proprietor myself, and in my mind I continually painted her ensuing dreadful situation. I fancied I saw her tortured, insulted, and bowing under the weight of her chains, calling aloud, but in vain, for my assistance. I was miserable, and indeed nearly deprived of all my faculties, till restored by the assurances of my friend, Mr. Lolkens, who providentially was appointed to continue administrator of the estate during the absence of its new possessors, Messrs. Passelege and son, at Amsterdam, who bought it and its dependants for only 4,000*l*.

‘No sooner was he confirmed in his appointment, than this disinterested and steady friend brought Joanna to my presence; and pledged himself, that in every service which he could render to myself or her, and which he had now more in his power than ever, no efforts on his side should be wanting. This promise I desired him to keep in remembrance, and accordingly he ever since most nobly persevered.

‘Being now perfectly recovered, I resolved to join colonel Fourgeoud at the Wana creek, without waiting his orders, and to accompany him on his excursions through the forest: in consequence of which, having first cropt my hair, as being more convenient in the woods as well as more cleanly, and provided myself with the necessary bush-equipage, such as jackets, trowsers, &c.; I waited on the governor to ask his commands; he entertained me in a most polite manner, and told me, that what I was now going to suffer would surpass what I had already undergone. I nevertheless persisted in wishing to go without waiting an order from the chief, and accordingly applied to the magistrates for a boat, and the necessary negroes to transport me; which being promised for the succeeding day, I transferred the colours and regiment's cash, with the command of the remaining sick troops, to lieutenant Meyer, the only healthy officer at Paramaribo. Indeed

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the colours, the cash, and the sick soldiers were nearly of equal use in Surinam, the first never having been displayed except at our landing, the second invisible to all except to colonel Fourgeoud, and the third dying away one after another.

‘ On the 25th of October, being ready to proceed upon my second campaign, I repaired to the water-side at six o’clock in the evening; where, instead of a tent-boat, I found a greasy yawl, with a few drunken Dutch sailors, to row me to an estate in the river Comewina, whence they were going to bring their captain back to Paramaribo, and from which place I might, if I pleased, beg the rest of my passage upwards, or manage for myself in the best manner I was able. I had already one foot in the boat, when reflecting that I was going voluntarily on a hazardous expedition, without orders, repented, and stepped back upon the shore, where, positively declaring I would not move in their defence till I should be decently transported, should the whole colony be on fire, I was seconded by all the English and Americans in the town, and a general tumult took place. The Dutch exclaimed against the expence of a tent-boat which would cost them 30 shillings, when they could have the other for nothing: while the others declared they were a set of mean and parsimonious wretches, who deserved not the smallest protection from colonel Fourgeoud’s troops. A mob collected, and a riot ensued, before Mr. Hardegen’s tavern, at the water-side, while hats, wigs, bottles, and glasses, flew out at his windows. The magistrates were next sent for, but to no purpose: and the fighting continued in the street till 10 o’clock at night, when I with my friends fairly kept the field, having knocked down several sailors, planters, Jews, and overseers, and lost one of my pistols, which I threw after the rabble in a passion; nor would it have ended here, had not my friend Mr. Kennedy, who was member of the court of policy, and two or three more gentlemen whom he brought with him, found means to appease the disputants, by declaring I had been very ill treated, and should have a proper boat the next day.

‘ Having now slept and refreshed myself a few hours, I was waited on by four American captains, viz. captain Timmons of the Harmony, captain Lewis of the Peggy, captain Bogard of the Olive Branch, and captain Minet of the America, who insisted on my refusing any vessel whatever from the colony this time, and offering to send me up in one of their own boats, manned by their own sailors only, to which each would equally contribute. I can aver, that notwithstanding the threatening rupture between Great Britain and her colonies, which seemed then upon the eve of breaking out into open violence, nothing could surpass the warm and cordial friendship which these gentlemen possessed, not only for me, but for every individual that bore a British name, or had any connection with that island; professing that they still retained the greatest regard for every thing in Britain, but its administration. I accepted of their very polite proposal; and having arranged matters in such a manner at home, that neither colonel Fourgeoud nor the cock-roachers could injure me, I shook hands with my mulatto, and at six in the evening repaired once more to the water-side, escorted by my English and American friends, where, having drank a bowl of punch, we separated. I then departed for my station, they having hoisted the colours on board all their vessels in the road, and at the boat’s going off saluted me with three cheers, to my great satisfaction, and the mortification of the gaping multitude by which we were surrounded. We soon rowed beyond the view of Paramaribo.

‘ Being arrived at the fortress of New Amsterdam, we were obliged to stop for the return of the tide, to row up the river Comewina. In this interval, I was genteelly entertained with a supper by the Society officers quartered there; but at 12 o’clock we got aboard, and having rowed all night, I breakfasted with captain Macneyl, who was one of general Spork’s captains in 1751; after which we once more set out, and arrived at the plantation Charlottenburgh. So much incensed was I at the usage I had met with at Paramaribo, and so well pleased with the English sailors, that I ordered the tars a din-

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ner of 12 roasted ducks, and gave them 36 bottles of claret, being my whole stock, besides a guinea. When the tide ebbed they took their leave, and rowed down to their vessels, as well pleased, and as drunk as wine or strong spirits could make them.

‘ I now pursued my voyage upwards as far as the estate Mondesir; afterwards, having viewed the ruins of the three estates, Zuzingheyd, Peru, and L’Esperance, which had been burnt when I commanded at Devil’s Harwar, I arrived at Lepair. Here one of the overseers gave me an account of his miraculous escape from the rebels, which I shall relate in his own words.—“ The rebels, sir,” said he, “ had already surrounded the dwelling-house in which I was, before I knew of their being in the plantation, and were employed in setting fire to the four corners of it, so that to run out of doors was rushing on certain death. In this dilemma I fled to the garret, where I laid myself flat upon one of the beams, in hopes of their dispersing soon, and that I might effect my escape before the building should be burnt down; but in this I was disappointed, as they still remained: and at the same time the flames increased so fast, that the heat became insupportable in the place where I was, and I had no other alternative left, than to be burnt to death, or to leap from a high garret window into the midst of my exasperated enemies. This last measure, however, I resolved upon, and had not only the good fortune to alight unhurt upon my feet, but to escape without a wound, from among so many men armed with sabres and bill-hooks. I flew to the river-side, into which I plunged headlong; however, not being able to swim, I immediately sunk to the bottom; but (said he) I still kept my full presence of mind, and while they concluded me to be drowned, found means, by the help of the *moco-moco* and mangrove roots, to bring myself not only under cover of the impending verdure, but just so far above water with my lips as to continue in a state of respiration till all was over. Having killed every other person, the rebels departed, and I was taken up by a boat from my very perilous situation.” ’

After a variety of little adventures Stedman arrived at the Wana creek, and shortly after the troops arrived in two columns, the one commanded by major Rughcop, and the other by colonel Fourgeoud. 'I was now,' says he, 'in excellent health and good spirits; and in hopes of being reconciled to Fourgeoud by this voluntary proof of my zeal for the service, I returned to the rangers' camp to wait his arrival. I was indeed well acquainted with his irreconcilable temper, and at the same time conscious of my own wild and ungovernable disposition, when I thought myself ill treated; but soon forgot trifling injuries, and was now determined, by my active and affable behaviour, to make him my friend if possible. At length the wished-for hour arrived; and being apprized of colonel Fourgeoud's approach, I went half a mile from the camp to meet him, acquainting him that I was come *pour participer de la gloire*, and to serve under his immediate command, which he answered with a bow, I returned it, and we marched together to the rangers' camp.'

The troops in this expedition had destroyed a great quantity of rice belonging to the rebels; but the soldiers being nearly starved by the avarice of the colonel, had broke out into mutiny, which was with difficulty suppressed.

'Whilst I was now about noon resting in my hammock very contentedly,' says Stedman, 'I was accosted by my friend lieutenant Campbell, who acquainted me, with tears in his eyes, that the evening before colonel Fourgeoud had given to the officers of the Surinam Society, not only of that brave and gallant corps the Scots brigade in the Dutch service, but of the British in general, the most unmerited character that could be invented. I immediately started up; and having got Campbell's information confirmed, went to Fourgeoud, and asked him in public the cause of this unmanly slander.—He replied with a stare, that *his* observations only regarded my petticoat-trowsers, which I wore for coolness and conveniency, as many British seamen do, and which he had never seen on the mountains of Switzerland. But as to the rest of what was said respecting us, he laid it totally to the charge of

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Mr. Stoelman, captain of the Cottica militia, who was absent. Thus I could only answer by denouncing, in the severest terms, vengeance upon this assassin of our reputation; and after, promising to transform my short trowsers into long ones, we coolly separated. An hour however after this, I received a sudden order to cross the Cormoetibo river, and be henceforth under the command of major Rugheop, who was with his party or column at this time encamped on the south side at the mouth of Wana creek. Being arrived in major Rugheop's camp, and having got a couple of negroes to serve me, the next measure was to build a hut, or, more properly speaking, a shed over my hammock, to keep me free from the rain and the sun, which was done within the space of one hour.

While we continued in this station, one morning, being returned from a patrol, with 20 marines and 20 rangers, and sitting round a species of table to take some dinner with the other officers, I was rudely insulted by a captain Meyland, of the Society troops, who, as I said, with lieutenant Fredericy, had taken Boucou, and who was colonel Fourgeoud's countryman and friend. The affront consisted in Meyland's handing about to each a drop of claret, he having indeed but one bottle left, and, in an impertinent manner, excepting me alone, although I held the glass in my hand to receive it. Justly suspecting this insult to originate from my commander-in-chief, rather than appear to seek a quarrel, I endeavoured to make an apology, telling him, I had inadvertantly erred in holding out my glass, not imagining I was to be distinguished from the other officers; assuring him it was not for the value of his wine, which I politely relinquished to my neighbour; but this concession had no other effect than to increase the wrath of my fierce adversary, who, apparently mistaking it for pusillanimity, became overbearing and scurrilous, in which he was seconded by all the other Swiss and Germans without exception. I said no more, and having tore away a wing of a boiled bird called *powese*, that stood before me (which bird had been shot by one of the rangers) I devoured it with little ceremony, and left the table, with a determination to support my character or die.

' Thus resolved, I first went to the hut of a sick soldier, whose sabre I borrowed (my own being broken) on pretence of going out to cut a few sticks; after this I went in quest of Mr. Meyland, and found him contentedly smoking his pipe by the water-side, looking at one of his friends who was angling. Having tapped him on the shoulder, I hastily told him before the other, that now if he did not fight me that instant like a gentleman, I was determined to take revenge another way, with the flat of my sabre, where he stood. He at first declared that he had only meant a joke, and seemed for peace; but perceiving that I persisted, he with great *sang froid* knocked the tobacco-ashes from his pipe against the heel of his shoe; then having brought *his* sabre, we walked together without seconds about half a mile into the wood; here I stopt the captain short, and drawing my weapon, now desired him to stand on his defence; this he did, but at the same time observed, that as the point of his sword was broken off, we were unequally armed; and so indeed we were, *his* being still near one foot longer than my own; therefore calling to him that *sabres* were not made to thrust, but to cut with, I offered to make an exchange; but he refusing, I dropped mine on the ground, and eagerly with both hands endeavoured to wrest his from him, till (as I had hold of it by the blade) I saw the blood trickle down all my fingers, and I was obliged to let go.

' I now grasped my own sabre, with which I struck at him many times, but without the least effect, as he parried every blow with the utmost facility; at last, with all his force, he made a cut at my head, which, being conscious I could not ward off by my skill, I bowed under it, and at the same instant striking sideways for his throat, had the good fortune to make a gash in the thick part of his right-arm at least six inches long, the two lips of which appeared through his blue jacket, and in consequence of which his right-hand came down dangling by his side. I had, however, not escaped entirely unhurt, for his sabre, having passed through my hat without touching my skull, had glanced to my right-shoulder, and cut it about one inch deep. At this time I insisted on his asking

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my pardon, or on firing both our pistols left-handed; but he chose the first, which ended the battle. I now reminded him that such Swiss jokes were always too serious to Englishmen; when we shook hands, and I conducted him, covered with blood, to the surgeon of his own corps, who having sewed up the wound, he went to his hammock, and for the space of several weeks performed no duty.

‘ Thus was I reconciled to captain Meyland; and what gave me the greatest satisfaction, was his acknowledging the affront was offered, as finding it would be agreeable to Fourgeoud to have me mortified; and indeed ever after this acknowledgment we lived in the utmost intimacy. Peace, however, was not yet decreed to be my lot, for that very afternoon I found myself under the necessity of challenging two other officers, who had espoused Meyland’s quarrel against me at dinner; but in this I had the satisfaction of establishing my character without violence or bloodshed, both of the gentlemen acknowledged their error; and I became at once the favourite of the camp.

‘ On the 9th of November both columns met, and encamped together on the north side of the Wana creek, near its mouth, where it runs into the Cormoctibo, placing advanced guards at both creeks, at one mile distance from it; and this very even I took the opportunity of acquainting colonel Fourgeoud, that I had nearly cut off the head of his beloved countryman in a duel (well knowing he must be informed by others); which trespass he was not only pleased graciously to pardon, but to tell me with a smile that I was a *brave garcon*, but in those smiles I put no more trust than I would in the tears of a crocodile.

‘ My doubts of his friendship were soon confirmed, since my only true friend, Campbell, going down sick to Devil’s Harwar, he would not so much as allow the boat or ponkee to wait till I had finished a letter, directed to Joanna, for some clean linen; however, a ranger (of which corps I by this time was become a remarkable favourite) found means to enable me to overtake this poor man in a corialla or small canoe, composed of one single piece of timber; when, shaking hands with Campbell, we separated with tears, and I never saw him

more, for he died in a few days after. Colonel Fourgeoud now being determined to scour the north banks of the Cormoetibo, we broke up in two columns, viz. his own first, and that of major Rughcop, to which last I still belonged, following; we left behind a strong guard, with the provisions for the sick.

'We proceeded forward, keeping our course toward the mouth of the Cormoetibo creek, each officer provided with a pocket compass, by which we were to steer, like sailors, through a dark wood, where nothing is to be seen but the heavens, as at sea nothing appears but clouds and water: thus those who were acquainted with navigation were the best qualified for marching, and ran the least hazard of losing themselves in a black unbounded forest. But those wretches who most deservedly attracted my pity, were the miserable negro slaves, who were bending under their loads; whose heads, on which they carry all burthens, bore the bald marks of their servitude;—they were driven forward like oxen, and condemned to subsist on half allowance, while they performed double drudgery. In short, to increase our misfortune, though in the dry season, the rains began to pour down from the heavens like a torrent, continuing all night: during this deluge (according to colonel Fourgeoud's order) we were all ordered to encamp without huts or other covering of any kind, slinging our hammocks between two trees, under which, upon two small forked sticks, were placed our fire-arms, as the only method of keeping the priming-powder dry in the pan; above this piece of architecture did I hang, like Mahomet between the two loadstones, with my sabre and pistols in my bosom, and, in spite of wind and weather, fell most profoundly asleep.

'On the 14th, at five o'clock in the morning, I was awaked by the sound of Up! up! up! when the rain still continuing, the half of the officers and men were sick, and I rose from my hammock soaked as in a wash-tub; having secured the lock of my firelock, in imitation of the rangers, with a piece of the bark of a palm-tree, and swallowing a dram, with a piece of dry rusk biscuit, for my breakfast, we again marched on.—

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But I ought not to forget mentioning the negroes, who had the whole night slept in the water on the ground, and yet were in better health than any of the Europeans. Had we now been attacked by the enemy, we must inevitably have been all cut to pieces, being disabled from resisting with our fire-arms, in which not only the priming but even many of the cartridges were completely wet; this might have been prevented by having cased and waxed down our arms, as is practised by the buccaneers of America; but these were trifles not to be thought of: one thing, however, now happened which threatened to be no trifle, and that was, that the provisions were gone, and those we expected to meet us in the creek not arrived, having by some mistake been neglected. By this accident we were now reduced, officers and men without exception, to subsist on one rusk biscuit and water for our allowance for 24 hours, to keep us from starving.

‘In the midst however of this distress, we were again presented by one of the rangers with a large bird, called here *boossy-calcoo*, being a species of wild turkey; of this fortunate acquisition it was resolved in the evening to make broth, each throwing a piece of his rusk biscuit into the kettle, and (standing round the fire) beginning to ladle away as soon as the broth began to boil, which had another virtue, viz. notwithstanding it being put over at six o’clock in the evening, at 12 o’clock at midnight the kettle was just as full as the first moment we had begun supper, though the broth was rather weaker I must acknowledge, the heavy rain having dashed into it without intermission. During this heavy storm we were as destitute of huts as the night before, but I availed myself once more of my English petticoat trowsers, which, loosening from my middle, I hung about my shoulders, and continuing to turn round before the fire (like a fowl roasting on a string) I passed the hours with rather more comfort than my miserable coughing companions. All I can say of the bird above mentioned is, that I thought it differed little from the common turkeys, which here frequently weigh above 20lbs.

‘On the succeeding morning we marched again through very heavy rains, which by this means had swelled the water

so high in the woods that it reached above our knees, and prevented us from crossing a small creek in our way, without the help of a temporary bridge.

'I prevailed therefore on the rangers, with the help of a few slaves, to erect one, which they did in the space of forty minutes, by cutting down a straight tree, which fell directly across the creek, to this they also made a kind of railing; but still with this our commander Rughcop, whose temper was soured by misery, and whose constitution was already broken by hardships, was not pleased. He paid the rangers for their pains with oaths and reproaches, who, with a smile of contempt, left him swearing, and crossed the creek, some by swimming, and others by climbing up a tree whose branches hung over it, from which they dropped down on the opposite shore; in this I followed their example: and here we stopped till the arrival of the poor trembling and debilitated major Rughcop, with two-thirds of his troops as sick as himself.

'We marched again with better weather, and arrived before noon at Jerusalem, near the mouth of Cormoetibo creek, where I had formerly halted during my cruize. Here colonel Fourgeoud, with his drooping soldiers, was arrived just before us; and here we made our appearance, in such a shocking situation as will scarcely admit of description. It is sufficient to say, that the whole little army was exhausted by famine and fatigue, a very small number excepted; while several, unable to walk at all, had been carried upon poles by negro slaves in their hammocks: and during all this time we had discovered nothing. One thing is to be considered, that while the old gentleman himself went through all the above-mentioned hardships, (to which he seemed as invulnerable as a machine of iron or brass) we had the less reason to complain of bad usage. In short, having as usual plunged in the river, to wash off the mire and blood occasioned by the scratches; and having taken a refreshing swim, I looked round for my negroes to erect a comfortable hut: but in this I was disappointed, as they were employed by Mr. Rughcop to build his kitchen, although he had as yet nothing to dress in it. This piece of unpoliteness I for once overlooked; and the rangers

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having made me a nice bed of manicole-leaves on the ground, (there being no trees in the place to sling a hammock) and having lighted a blazing fire by the side of it, I lay quietly down next them on my green mattress, where, in a clear moonshine night and no rain, I soon fell asleep. But about two hours before day-break I awaked, when the fire was out, the moon was down, and I almost dead with the cold dew and the damp that exhaled from the earth, being so stiff and benumbed that I had scarcely strength to crawl on hands and feet, and awake one of my sable companions; he, however, having kindled a new fire, I recruited so as at six o'clock to be able to rise, but with such excruciating pain in one of my sides that I could not avoid groaning aloud; but to prevent Fourgeoud and the others from hearing, I hid myself in the skirts of the wood; the pain however still augmenting, I soon was prevented from breathing without the greatest difficulty, and at last fell down behind the rotten trunk of an old cabbage-tree. In this situation I was discovered by one of the negro slaves who was going to cut rafters, and who, supposing me dead, ran instantly back, and alarmed the whole camp.— I was taken up and carried in a hammock, by the care of a captain Medler, under proper cover, and one of the Society surgeons instantly sent for to attend me. By this time I was surrounded by spectators, and the pain in my side became so acute, that, like one in the hydrophobia, I tore my shirt with my teeth, and bit whatever chanced to come near me; till being rubbed by a warm hand on my side with a kind of ointment, the complaint suddenly vanished like a dream, and I felt myself completely recovered.

‘ To prevent a relapse, however, the first use that I made of my strength was to cut a cudgel, with which I swore to murder the Berbice ruffian, Geusary, who had the management of the slaves, if he did not instantaneously employ them to build for me a comfortable hut, let who would order the contrary, my life being the dearest thing I had to regard; and following him close at his heels, with my cudgel clubbed upon my shoulder, I had the satisfaction to be well housed in the space of two hours. I must not omit, that colonel Four-

geoud, during the crisis of my illness, had made me an offer of being transported to Devil's Harwar; but this I refused.

' On the 18th the news arrived, that poor Campbell died on the preceding day; and now major Rughcop himself was sent down extremely ill, being the eleventh sick officer during this short campaign.

' On the 20th we detached a captain, with 20 privates and 20 rangers, to reconnoitre the village of Boucou: on the following day major Rughcop died; and now colonel Fourgeoud resolved to march himself to Boucou, leaving me the command of 400 men, white and black, 200 of whom were sick in their hammocks; but of that number I transported thirty to die at Devil's Harwar, while I sent 60 rangers with leave down to Paramaribo. These latter went away declaring, that Fourgeoud's operations were only calculated to murder his own troops instead of the enemy's.

' On the 21st two slaves were put in confinement, accused of having taken pork from the magazine; and I was addressed by the troops to inflict an exemplary punishment, the common soldiers despising the negro slaves, as in their imagination greatly below themselves, and stupidly considering them as the causes of their distress. Having found a large piece of pork in their custody, yet having no proof that was sufficient to establish the theft, I found myself greatly at a loss to distribute justice with satisfaction to both parties; the Europeans unmercifully accusing, and the poor slaves vindicating their starved companions in such a clamorous style, that the whole camp was in an uproar. The first persisting that the latter had stolen it, and the others that they had saved it from their allowance, to take to their families. Affecting, therefore, the stile of a despotic prince, I ordered first a ring to be formed of the plaintiffs, and next the prisoners to be let within it.— I then, with a stern and loud voice, commanded a block and a hatchet to be brought. It was with heart-felt satisfaction that I found this solemn apparatus, and the apprehension that we might commit a rash and criminal action, soon dispelled every feeling of resentment in the soldiers, and I was implored by the very accusers to shew mercy. Obdurately stopping

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my ear, however, to all intreaty from either side, I made a strong negro slave to take up the hatchet, and instantly chop the *pork* into three equal pieces; when, giving one share to the prosecutors, another to the malefactors, and the third to the executioner for having *so well* done his duty, the farce was ended to general satisfaction, and I heard no more of robberies or complaints.

‘ On the 24th in the evening, two officers of the Surinam Society troops arrived from Devil’s Harwar, recovered from their late indisposition. One of them, calling himself Le Baron de Z—b—h, and being infected with *esprit de corps*, on his arrival seemed determined to espouse captain Meyland’s cause, abruptly alledging, that I had disgraced him by epithets unbecoming his dignity. I was amazed, and being conscious of my innocence, endeavoured to explain the matter in a friendly manner, in which I was seconded by a Mr. Rulagh, one of my officers; but the German, instead of being appeased, grew more outrageous, and plainly told me that he insisted on satisfaction. I never had less inclination to battle in all my life, I therefore left him without a reply, and walked towards my hut in the most gloomy mood imaginable. It was not long, however, before I felt my indignation suddenly re-kindle, when, armed with my sabre and pistols, I returned, fully determined to end the quarrel in the moon-shine. But now, finding the Baron retired to his hammock, I dispatched Mr. Rulagh with a summons, desiring he would tell him, that if he did not instantly turn out to fight me, I should come in, cut down the clews of his hammock with my knife, and treat him as I thought his pride and insolence deserved. Upon this appeared a figure that will never be effaced from my memory.

‘ The Baron was more than the middle size, extremely thin and sallow, his meagre visage ornamented with a pair of enormous red whiskers under the nose, while a white *queue* near three feet long adorned his graceful back. He was in his under-waistcoat, and walked on stocking soles, which were black silk, darned with white worsted; these hanging down upon his heels, discovered his miserable spindle shanks; while on his head he wore a striped worsted night-cap of all colours,

also in many holes; and over his breech his valour was displayed by his colours, which hung out, but the *blazon* of which I must not attempt to describe. Such was the figure that now, with all humiliation, offered to give me a *buss*, and intreated my forgiveness, pretending not to have understood me; which *last* I having granted with a loud laugh and a dram of brandy, he faced about, and by the quick step re-entered his den.

‘ On the 26th colonel Fourgeoud, with his party, returned from his trip to Boucou, having surrounded three straggling rebel negroes unarmed, as they were cutting a cabbage-tree for their subsistence. While one of them, called Passup, had escaped, another was taken alive, and a third, with his thigh shot to shivers by a slug cartridge, was first lashed hands and feet, and thus carried by two negroes on a pole, in the manner of a hog or a beer-barrel, bearing all the weight of his body upon his shattered limbs, which were dropping with blood, without a plaister or a bandage to cover the wounds, and with his head hanging downwards all the time; in which manner the unhappy youth, for he had not the appearance of being twenty, had been brought through thick and thin for above six miles distance from the camp, while he might just as well have been carried in one of the spare hammocks of the soldiers. I was shocked and surprized at this act of barbarity in Fourgeoud. The body being laid on a table, I implored one of the surgeons, called Pino, to dress his wounds; on which, that he might seem to do something, he put just as many round patches as the slugs had made holes, declaring he could never recover, and singing *Dragons pour boire* during the operation.—Poor negro! what must have been his feelings! The fever increasing, he begged for some water, which I gave him myself clean out of my hat, when he said, “Thank ye, me massera,” sighed, and, to my inexpressible satisfaction, instantly expired.

‘ The following day Mr. Stoelman, the militia captain, being arrived, to stay one day only in the camp, I took the opportunity to remind colonel Fourgeoud of what he had told me concerning his unbecoming insinuations, which I begged

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him now to repeat in that gentleman's hearing, as I was determined to have this matter cleared up, and to obtain that satisfaction to which I thought myself entitled. But the gallant colonel was not easily brought to proof.—He now imputed all the blame to major Rughcop, who was dead, and requested of me to say nothing more about it. I left him with contempt, and shook hands with my supposed adversary; and then, to his inexpressible surprize, told him all that had happened.—The consequence was, that in less than two hours the captain quitted Fourgeoud and Jerusalem in disgust, and was followed by the remaining rangers.

‘ On the 30th of November, 1773, the whole of the troops broke up together, and leaving Jerusalem, we once more marched back to the Wana creek, but did not keep exactly the track that had brought us thither: colonel Fourgeoud, however, revoking his former orders, now allowed his remaining party, to sling their hammocks *under cover*, of which indeed *he*, at this crisis, condescended to set the example; thus were we at least more comfortably lodged, but, I am sorry to add, not more comfortably victualled, while the old gentleman himself wanted for nothing that was good.

‘ We continued our march for three days successively, with good weather; but I was every night awaked out of my sound sleep by a sentinel, who was sent by the colonel's orders to disturb me, with a charge of having *whistled* or *spoke*.

‘ On the 3d we arrived once more at the Wana creek. Here, after a fatiguing march, I flattered myself with the hope of recruiting my exhausted strength and spirits by a quiet night's rest; but was once more awoken, though so sound was my sleep, that the sentinel was obliged to shake me three or four times by the shoulder. I then started up, denying the charge; but Fourgeoud himself, sitting upright in his hammock, now swore, in a tremendous voice, that he was determined to *hang* and *quarter* whoever should dare to disobey his orders, the dark and gloomy woods resounding with his bellowing threats. A deadly silence succeeded this storm throughout the camp, till I happened to break it, by bursting out into an immoderate fit of laughter, in which I

was instantly accompanied by so many others, that he began to roar like thunder, without being able to distinguish one person's voice from another. In this music he was seconded by a large toad, called here the *pipa*, to which monster he actually gave shelter in his hut, and which kept croaking every night, with such a voice as could only be exceeded by Fourgeoud himself, or by that of his countrymen, a Switzerland bear. Morpheus I now invoked to befriend me again, but to no purpose, such was the impression which these several roarings had left on my mind.

'On the 6th I received six gallons of rum from Paramaribo, four of which I gave as a present to Fourgeoud. About six in the evening two of our slaves, who had been out to cut manicoles, brought intelligence that a gang of rebels had passed not above a mile from the camp, headed by a captain Arico, with whom they had spoken on the banks of the Cormoetibo creek, but could not tell which way they steered their course, so much had they been terrified. On this information we received orders to pursue them by break of day; and the next morning, at five o'clock, all was ready, and we again broke up, leaving a detachment with stores, and repaired to the spot whence the intelligence proceeded. Here we saw a large palm or *mawrisee* tree (the largest of all the palm species), floating in the river, and moored to the opposite shore by a nebee, which plainly indicated that Arico, with his men, had crossed the creek, which they do by riding astride on the floating trunk, the one behind the other, in which manner they are ferried over, (sometimes with women and children) by those who are the best swimmers.

'Notwithstanding this plain evidence, the faith of our colonel, Fourgeoud, now began to waver, and he averred that it was no more than a stratagem of the rebels, who, he said, had come from the place to which we supposed them gone, and who had only tied the tree across the river to deceive us.'

The colonel persisting in his opinion marched directly from the enemy, proceeding several days through high sandy heaths or savannahs, where no water could be procured. The lamentation of the poor soldiers for want of drink was truly affect-

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ing, yet Fourgeoud still persisted in going forward. However, he at last dropped down himself upon the burning sands, amongst a number of others. 'During all this,' writes Stedman, 'a miserable spectacle, for want of means to slake their raging and intolerable thirst. Despair now seemed to be impressed even upon Fourgeoud's countenance, as he lay prostrate on the earth, with his lips and tongue parched black; and in this condition, though so little deserving of it, he again attracted my pity.

'During all this, some of the soldiers still devoured salt pork, while others crept on all fours and licked the scanty drops of dew from the fallen leaves that lay scattered on the ground. I now experienced the kindness of which a negro is capable when he is well treated by his master, being presented by one attending me with a large calabash of as good water as ever I drank in my life; and this he met with, after unspeakable difficulty, in the leaves of a few wild pine-apple plants, from which it was extracted.

'As Providence had graciously sent me this supply, I could not for my soul resist the impulse of sharing my relief with poor Fourgeoud, whose age and natural infirmities pleaded greatly in his favour; and who, being now refreshed, saw himself at last obliged to return, without any further hope of overtaking the enemy. But so exhausted was the party, that many were carried on long poles in their hammocks by the slaves.

'As we returned by our former footsteps, and of consequence approached a pit we had dug the day before, I was convinced that by this time it must contain clear water. I therefore dispatched my boy Quaco to the front, to fill one of my gallon bottles before it should be changed to a puddle, and this he did; but being met on his return by colonel Fourgeoud, he with the butt end of his gun relentlessly knocked the bottle to pieces, and doubling his pace, placed two sentinels at the pit, with orders to preserve the water all for himself and his favourites. But this moment subordination being extinguished, the two protectors were forced headlong into the pit, followed by several others, who all fought to come at the

water, which being now changed to a perfect mire, was good for nothing. Having slung our hammocks in an old rebel camp, a dram of *kill-devil* was distributed to each without distinction; but, as I never used this fluid, I offered my share to my faithful negro who had given me the water: this being observed by old Fourgeoud, he ordered it to be snatched out of the poor man's hand, and returned into the earthen jar; telling me, "I must either drink it myself, or have none." I was exceedingly exasperated at this mark of ingratitude, and finding means to procure that very evening a whole bottle, I gave it to the slave.

'Near midnight, accidentally good water was discovered—Good God! what joyful news!—how sweet the taste! surpassing any wine; and such as I shall ever gratefully remember!—Now all drank heartily, and Fourgeoud ordered a warm supper to be boiled for himself, but not so much as a fire to be lighted for any other person, forbidding even the cutting of a stick; thus were we forced to eat our salt beef and pork *raw*. However, having tied my small allowance to a string, I hung it quietly over the side of *his* kettle, to have it dressed; but his black cook chancing to drop a log of wood upon another in his eagerness to assist me, alarmed the hero, when I was obliged to drop my luncheon into the kettle, and take to my heels.

'The old gentleman now insisting that some person had cut sticks against his orders, I quietly stepped up to his hammock in the dark, to undeceive him, and softly assured him that the whole camp was fast asleep; when he, on pretence of not knowing me, suddenly gave a great roar, and with both his hands caught hold of me by the hair of the head. I escaped, and got fairly under cover, while he called, "Fire at him! fire at him!" to the infinite amusement of the whole camp, who lay in their hammocks convulsed with laughter. Having found out Quaco, I instantly sent him back to bring my luncheon; and such was his diligence, that he actually brought me back a piece of beef at least ten times as large as what I had left, with which I had once more the satisfaction to regale the poor slaves; and thus ended this horrid day.

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'The 13th we once more returned to the Wana creek, fatigued beyond the power of description with these fruitless sufferings. Here the old gentleman regaled his friends with my rum in my presence, and without offering me a single drop. Here also I found a letter from the island of Ceylon in the East Indies, where my friend and relation, Mr. Arnoldus De Ly, being governor of Poind-de-Gale and Maturee, I was invited to come and find my fortune ready made, but which for the present my evil stars prevented my accepting, as it would have been dishonourable to leave the service at this juncture.'

Numbers were now carried daily to the grave by that dreadful disorder the bloody flux; nor was there a surgeon in the camp to relieve the sufferings of the sick. The poor slaves were literally starved, and were obliged to relieve the pain of hunger by tying ropes about their shrunk abdomens. The salt beef and pork, which formed the principal part of their provisions, had, perhaps, taken the tour of the world after leaving Ireland, and were so green, so slimy, and so full of worms, as to remain only on a good stomach. The whole camp was also destitute of stockings, shoes, hats, &c. and not one man could be found with a sound limb. Captain Stedman had in this respect the advantage of the whole company, having long accustomed himself to walk barefooted.

'At this time a compliment of a fine *ham* and a dozen of port-wine being sent me by captain Van Coeverden, I gave all in a present to poor Fourgeoud, who was emaciated with fatigue, except four bottles which I drank with the other officers; and next day, the 29th, I had the honour to be ordered on a patrolle with colonel des Borgnes and 40 privates *once more*, to try if we could not take the negroes who had crossed the creek *three weeks* before.

'Having dropped down the river with a barge, in which we lay all night, we landed the following morning, and marched N. E.; after which, being without a compass, we soon lost our way, and having crossed a large sand-savannah, slung our hammocks in the skirts of a thick and obscure wood. On the 31st we again set out the same course, in hopes of

meeting with the marks of some former path cut upon the trees by some of our troops; but were mistaken, for having got into a marsh, where we waded till noon up to our chins, at the hazard of being drowned, we saw ourselves under the necessity of returning the same way we came, perfectly soaked and in rags; and after a forced march encamped once more on the banks of the Cormoetibo creek, in such a heavy shower of rain during the whole night as I did seldom remember, which caused so much confusion and hurry, each striving to build his shed, and get under cover first, that I got a broken head, but persevering, was one of the first in slinging my hammock; above which spreading green boughs, and under which having lighted a comfortable fire, I fell most profoundly asleep in the middle of the smoke, which saved me from the stings of the mosquitoes.

‘ Having slept most soundly for six or seven hours, in spite of the rains, the smoke, the mosquitoes, and my broken head, I turned out perfectly refreshed at five, and at six we commenced the year 1774, by marching up along the banks of the Cormoetibo till mid-day, when we arrived once more at the *grand* encampment at the mouth of the Wana creek, from, as usual, a fruitless cruize.

‘ Colonel Fourgeoud being finally determined to break up this campaign, sent out a party of 60 men to cruize on the way to Patamaca before him. I now washed my shirt, the last I had, in the Wana creek (but was obliged to keep swimming till it was dried by the sun) my letter, sent for linen, having never reached Paramaribo, and what I had brought with me being torn to rags.

‘ On the 4th of January, 1774, at six o'clock in the morning, all were ready to decamp. Thus having sent down the barges with the sick to Devil's Harwar, we at last crossed Cormoetibo creek, and marched first directly south for Patamaca, over steep mountains covered with stones and impregnated with minerals. The whole corps appearing on the 6th excessively fatigued, Fourgeoud ordered a general day of rest, only detaching captain Fredericy with six men, as he knew the country best, to reconnoitre the banks of the Claas creek, a

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water that issued from near this place in the upper parts of Rio Cottica. They were hardly marched when the eye of our chief by chance falling on me, he ordered me instantly to follow *alone*, and return with a report of what I could discover on the *other* side of the creek. I overtook the party soon, when after a short march we were in water up to our arm-pits; Fredericy now ordered a retreat, but desiring him to wait for me, I took off all my clothes, and with only my sabre in my teeth, swam by myself across the creek, where having ranged the opposite shore, and finding nothing, I again swam back, after which we all returned to the camp.

At noon, making my report to colonel Fourgeoud, he was indeed astonished at this desperate action, which in fact he had not expected; but I was no less amazed when he took me by the hand, entertaining me with a bottle of wine, and ordering Monsieur Laurant to set some bacon-ham before me, to find, however incredible it may appear, that the one was actually sour, and the other creeping with live worms; while my own provisions, *now his*, which were fresh, were withheld from me. I left Fourgeoud, his valet, his wine, and his reptiles, with that contempt which they deserved, alleviating my hunger with a piece of dry rusk biscuit and a barbacued fish, called *warappa*, which I got from a negro.

On the 7th of January we marched again; and in the evening we encamped near the Patamaca creek. Having marched a few hours longer the succeeding morning, we at last arrived at the Society post La Rochelle in Patamaca; such a display of meagre, starved, black, burnt, and ragged tatterdemallions, and mostly without shoes or hats, as I think were never before beheld in any country. They could be compared to nothing but a gang of gypsies, while their leader was not unlike Bamfield Moore ('arew, and myself at best like the forlorn Crusoe in his worst condition, with my only check shirt and the one-half of my trowsers, the rest being torn away. Here we found a set of poor wretches ready to enter the woods which we had just left, and destined to undergo in the same manner the severest misery that ever was inflicted on sublunary beings. I have already mentioned the prickly

heat, ring-worm, dry gripes, putrid fevers, biles, consaca, and bloody flux, to which human nature is exposed in this climate; also the musquitoes, Patat and Scrapat lice, chigoes, cock-roaches, ants, horse-flies, wild-bees, and bats, besides the thorns, briers, the alligators, and perree in the rivers; to which we may add the howling of tigers, the hissing of serpents, and the growling of Fourgeoud, the dry and sandy savannahs, unfordable marshes, burning hot days, cold and damp nights, heavy rains, and short allowance, the reader may be astonished how any person was able to survive the trial. Notwithstanding this black catalogue, I solemnly declare I have omitted many other calamities that we suffered, as I wish to avoid prolixity, though perhaps I have been already too often guilty of it. I might have mentioned indeed lethargies, dropsies, &c. &c. besides the many small snakes, lizards, scorpions, locusts, bush-spiders, bush-worms, and centipedes, nay, even flying-lice, with which the traveller is perpetually tormented, and by which he is constantly in danger of being stung.

‘The reader may form some conception of the famished state in which we came hither, when I inform him, that the moment of our arrival, observing a negro-woman supping on plantain broth from a callibash, I gave her half-a-crown, and snatching the bason from her hands, I devoured the contents with a greater relish than I have ever tasted any delicacy before or since during my whole existence. I now observed to colonel Fourgeoud, how pitiable it was, not to regale his remaining soldiers with vegetables and fresh beef or mutton, besides providing them with hats, stockings, shoes, &c.; but he replied, that Hannibal had lost his army at Capua by too much indulgence. In short, he quoted not only Hannibal but Horace for his example, according to the advice given in a certain pamphlet,

“Ibit eo quo vis qui Zonam predidit;”

and appeared fully convinced, that no persons will behave so desperately in action as those who are tired of their lives.

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‘ On the 12th, Fourgeoud acquainted me now himself, that I was at liberty to go and refit at Paramaribo when I thought proper. This proposal I readily accepted, and that moment prepared for my departure, with some other officers, leaving behind us himself and a band of such scare-crows as would have disgraced the garden or field of any farmer in England. Among these was a Society captain, named Larcher, who declared to me he never combed, washed, shaved, or shifted, or even put off his boots, till all was rotted from his body.— At last arrived the happy hour, when, taking leave of my tattered companions, I and five more, with a tent-boat and six oars, rowed straight down for Paramaribo, still in good health and in a flow of spirits, and at the very summit of contentment.

‘ At Devil’s Harwar I met a cargo of tea, coffee, biscuit, butter, sugar, lemons, rum, and 20 bottles of claret, sent me by my friends, directed to La Rochelle, which I again, notwithstanding the barbarous usage that I had so lately met with, gave all in a present to poor Fourgeoud, 12 bottles of wine excepted, which we drank in the barge to the healths of our wives and mistresses; nor could I help pitying colonel Fourgeoud, whose age (he being about sixty) and indefatigable exertions claimed the attention of the most indifferent: for during this trip, though but few rebels were taken, he had certainly scoured the forest from the river Comewina to the mouth of the Wana creek, dispersed the enemy, and demolished their habitations, fields, and gardens, and thus cut them off from all prospect of support.

‘ On the evening of the 13th, we supped at the estate Mondesire, and thence kept rowing down all night and day, shouting and singing till the 15th at noon, when, the tide serving, we went on shore at the fortress Amsterdam; whence crossing the river, we arrived before Mr. De Lamar’s door at Paramaribo. I stepped ashore among a crowd of friends, who all flocked round to see and to welcome me to town.

‘ I next sent for my inestimable Joanna, who burst into tears the moment she beheld me, not only for joy at my still

existing (for it had been reported that I was no more) but also from seeing my very distressed situation.

‘As a specimen of colonel Fourgeoud’s justice I will only observe, that all the officers had now subsisted a whole year upon a private soldier’s allowance of salt provisions. This accommodation cost me 80%.; but many of the officers were under the necessity of selling their effects to procure a subsistence.

‘On the 1st of February, 1777, we, however, received notice that henceforth we should pay nothing, provided we could *fast*; but that if we could not, 10% yearly was to be the *ne plus ultra* of the expences for our salt beef and pork. On the 2d I received intelligence that lieutenant-colonel Becquer, scorning any longer to partake of Fourgeoud’s bounty, had suddenly given up the ghost, by which in rotation I became possessed of his vacant company. This was some compensation for so much trouble and fatigue.

‘On the 16th, the news arrived that colonel Fourgeoud, with the remaining troops, having marched from La Rochelle, had been attacked by the rebels; and amongst others captain Fredericy, marching in the front, had been shot through both thighs. This brave officer, clapping both his hands on the wounds, and sitting in water up to his breast to conceal the bleeding, and prevent his misfortune from discouraging the troops, remained in this situation until the surgeon had dressed them, when he was carried in his hammock by two negroes.

‘I now made another offer to join him in the woods; but instead of permission, he sent me orders to hasten to L’Esperance, in English the *Hope* estate, as I shall henceforth call it, situated in the upper part of Rio Comewina, there to take the command of the whole river during his absence; which being new to me, I repaired to this post with the greater satisfaction.

‘Having provided myself with a complete camp-equipage, and purchased provisions, I was soon ready to depart for my new station. But before I leave Paramaribo, I must remark, that during my stay there no less than nine negroes had each

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a leg cut off, for running away from their masters. This punishment is a part of the Surinam administration of justice, and is performed at the desire of the proprietor, and was executed by a Mr. Greuber, the surgeon of the hospital. During this inhuman operation, the poor sufferers very deliberately smoked their pipe of tobacco. For this service the surgeon received about 6*l.* a limb: but, notwithstanding his great abilities, four of them died immediately after the operation. A fifth destroyed himself, by plucking away the bandages and bleeding to death during the night. These amputated negroes are common in this colony, and are employed in rowing the boats and barges of their masters. Others are seen deprived of an arm; and this is the forfeit for daring to raise it against an European.

‘ I embarked on the 17th of February for the Hope, in the river Comewina, on board a decent tent-boat rowed by six negroes, having once more bid adieu to my beloved Joanna. On the 19th, about noon, I reached the Hope; having found this river still more charming than the river Cottica, both being bordered with beautiful estates of coffee and sugar.

‘ Here the troops were lodged in temporary houses built with the manicole-tree; but the situation was so low and marshy as at spring-tides to be entirely under water. The officers were all crowded in one apartment of the same construction; while the planter’s fine house, which might have been serviceable for the pleasure and health of these gentlemen, was made use of by nobody but the overseer of the estate.

‘ About a cannon-shot higher up the river is the estate Clarenbeek; where I went, on the 22d, to examine the state of the hospital, and where I found the troops more disagreeably quartered than at the Hope, owing chiefly to the amazing number of rats, with which this place was infested, destroying the men’s clothes and provisions, and running over their faces by dozens as they lay in their hammocks. The only mode of remedying this horrid inconvenience, was to break holes in the bottoms of quart bottles, and then string them like beads upon

the lashings of each hammock, both at head and foot; when this was properly done, their polish rendered it impossible for the rats to reach the canvas.

'I became daily more charmed with my situation; I was at liberty to breathe freely, and my prospects of future contentment promised amply to compensate for my past hardships and mortifications. Respected as the prince of the river; caressed by the neighbouring planters, who plentifully supplied me with presents of game, fish, fruit, and vegetables, I was scarcely the same man, and had very few wishes unsatisfied.

'One day (the 5th of March) during my residence here, I was surprized by the waving of a white handkerchief from a tent-boat that was rowing up the river; when to augment my happiness, it unexpectedly proved to be my mulatto, accompanied by her aunt, who now preferred Fauconberg estate, four miles above the Hope, to residing in town; and to this plantation I immediately accompanied them.

'Here Joanna introduced me to a venerable old slave, her grandfather, who made me a present of half a dozen fowls.—He was grey-headed and blind, but had been comfortably supported for many years through the attention of his numerous offspring. He told me he was born in Africa, where he had once been more respected than any of his Surinam masters ever were in their country. On the 6th of March I returned to the Hope, loaded with fowls, aubergines, brocoli, agoma, and a few Surinam cherries.

'I have already said that I was happy at the Hope; but how was my felicity augmented, when Mr. and Mrs. Lolkens came to visit me one evening, and not only gave me the address of Messrs. Passalage and Son at Amsterdam, the new proprietors of my mulatto, but even desired me to take her to the Hope, where she would be more agreeably situated than either at Fauconberg or Paramaribo. This desire was unquestionably most readily complied with by me; and I immediately set my slaves to work, to build a house of manicole-trees for her reception.

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‘ In the mean time I wrote the following letter to Messrs. Passalage and Son.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ BEING informed by Mr. Lolkens, the administrator of the estate Fauconberg, that you are the present proprietors; and being under great obligations to one of your mulatto slaves named Joanna, who is the daughter of the late Mr. Kruythoff, particularly for having attended me during my sickness; I in gratitude request of you, who are her masters, to let me purchase her liberty without delay: which favour shall be ever thankfully acknowledged, and the money for her ransom immediately paid, by

“ Gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ JOHN GABRIEL STEDMAN,

“ *Captain in Colonel Fourgeoud's*

“ *Corps of Marines.*”

‘ This letter was accompanied by another from my friend Lolkens, who much cheered my prospects by the assurance of success.

‘ I now introduced Joanna to her new habitation, where the plantation slaves, in token of respect, immediately brought her presents of cassada, yams, bananas, and plantains, and never two people were more completely happy. Free like the roes in the forest, and disencumbered of every care and ceremony, we breathed the purest ether in our walks, and refreshed our limbs in the limpid stream; health and good spirits were now my portion, while my partner flourished in youth and beauty, the envy and admiration of all the colony.

‘ Colonel Fourgeoud, after a fruitless and disastrous campaign, was obliged to put his troops into quarters at Magdenberg. About 200 men were sent down in barges to be stationed on different parts of the river Pirica. Some landed at the Hope to refresh, and behaved so very disorderly, as to oblige me and my officers to knock them down by half dozens, to keep the peace till they departed the same day, after which I dispatched a tent-boat with eight oars to row the commander-in-chief with some of his favourites to Paramaribo.

'The first object which attracted my compassion during a visit to a neighbouring estate, was a beautiful samboe girl of about eighteen, tied up by both arms to a tree, as naked as she came into the world, and lacerated in such a shocking manner by the whips of two negro-drivers, that she was from her neck to her ancles literally dyed over with blood. It was after she had received 200 lashes that I perceived her, with her head hanging downwards, a most affecting spectacle. When, turning to the overseer, I implored that she might be immediately unbound, since she had undergone the whole of so severe a punishment; but the short answer which I obtained was, that to prevent all strangers from interfering with his government, he had made an unalterable rule, in that case, always to double the punishment, which he instantaneously began to put in execution: I endeavoured to stop him, but in vain, he declaring that the delay should not alter his determination, but make him take vengeance with double interest. Thus I had no other remedy but to turn to my boat, and leave the detestable monster, like a beast of prey, to enjoy his bloody feast, till he was glutted. From that day I determined to break off all communication with overseers, and could not refrain from bitter imprecations against the whole fraternity. Upon investigating the cause of this matchless barbarity, I was credibly informed, that her only crime consisted in firmly refusing to submit to the loathsome embraces of her detestable executioner. Prompted by his jealousy and revenge, he called this the punishment of disobedience, and she was thus flead alive.

'At my return to the Hope, I was accosted by Mr. Ebber, the overseer of that estate, who with a woeful countenance informed me he had just been fined in the sum of 1,200 florins, about 100 guineas, for having exercised the like cruelty on a male slave; with this difference, that the victim had died during the execution. In answer to his complaint, so far from giving him consolation, I told him his distress gave me inexpressible satisfaction.

'This Ebber was peculiarly tyrannical; he tormented a boy of about fourteen called *Cattedy*, for the space of a whole year,

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by flogging him every day for one month; tying him down flat on his back, with his feet in the stocks for another; putting an iron triangle or pot-hook round his neck for a third, which prevented him from running away among the woods, or even from sleeping, except in an upright or sitting posture; chaining him to the landing-place, night and day, to a dog's kennel, with orders to bark at every boat or canoe that passed for a fourth month; and so on, varying his punishment monthly, until the youth became insensible, walking crooked, and almost degenerated into a brute. This wretch was, however, very proud of his handsomest slaves, and for fear of disfiguring their skins, he has sometimes let them off with 20 lashes, when, for their robberies and crimes, they had deserved the gallows. Such is the state of public and private justice in Surinam. The wretch Ebber left the Hope upon this occasion; and his *humane* successor, a Mr. Blenderman, commenced his reign by flogging every slave belonging to the estate, male and female, for having over-slept their time in the morning about 15 minutes.

‘The reader will, no doubt, imagine, that such cruelties were unparalleled; but this is not the case, they were even exceeded, and by a female too.

‘A Mrs. S—lk—r going to her estate in a tent-barge, a negro woman, with her sucking infant, happened to be passengers, and were seated on the bow or fore-part of the boat. The child crying, from pain perhaps, or some other reason, could not be hushed; Mrs. S—lk—r, offended with the cries of this innocent little creature, ordered the mother to bring it aft, and deliver it into her hands; then, in the presence of the distracted parent, she immediately thrust it out at one of the tilt-windows, where she held it under water until it was drowned, and then let it go. The fond mother, in a state of desperation, instantly leapt overboard into the stream, where floated her beloved offspring, in conjunction with which she was determined to finish her miserable existence. In this, however, she was prevented by the exertions of the negroes who rowed the boat, and was punished by her mistress with three or four hundred lashes for her daring temerity.

‘Colonel Fourgeoud moved on the 20th, with all the troops, from Magdenberg, in order to establish his head-quarters nearer the infirmary. His army being in a very sickly condition, he fixed upon the estate called New Rosenback, situated between the Hope and the hospital, for his encampment.—Thither I immediately repaired, to pay my respects to the chief; when I saw the remainder of his miserable army landed, and received a detail of the campaign. I told of captain Fredericy’s being wounded; one man lost by neglect, and another cut and disarmed; the captives running away, chains and all; the hero scoffed at, and ridiculed by his sable enemies: that a sick marine was left to die or recover by himself; and that one of the slaves, by bad usage, had his arm broke. These were the particulars of the last campaign. But I must mention the humanity of a poor slave, who, at every hazard, deserted Fourgeoud to attend the dying marine; and having performed the last sad office of friendship, returned to receive his punishment, but to his infinite surprize was pardoned.

‘In justice to colonel Fourgeoud I must say, that upon such expeditions, and in such a climate, many of these accidents cannot be prevented; and that while he killed his troops by scores, without making captures on the enemy, he nevertheless did the colony considerable service, by disturbing, hunting, and harassing the rebels, and destroying their fields and provisions. For, it is certain, no negro will ever return to settle in those haunts from which he has been once expelled.

‘On the 21st, several officers came to visit me at the Hope, we were very happy, and my guests perfectly satisfied with their entertainment. But on the morning of the 22d my poor Joanna, who had been our cook, was attacked with a violent fever; she desired to be removed to Fauconberg, there to be attended by one of her female relations, which I complied with. But on the evening of the 25th she was so extremely ill, that I determined to visit her myself, but as privately as possible, as Fourgeoud was to visit me at the Hope the next day; for his satirical jokes upon such an occasion I could very well dispense with; and I knew, the most laudable mo-

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‘ However difficult the undertaking, as I had to pass close to his post, I like another Leander was determined to cross the Hellespont; of which having informed my friend Hene-man, I set out about eleven at night in my own barge, when coming opposite to New Rosenback, I heard Fourgeoud’s voice very distinctly, as he walked on the beach with some other officers, and immediately the boat was hailed by a sentinel, and ordered to come ashore. I now thought all was over; but, persisting to the last, I told the negroes to answer *Killestyn Nova*, the name of an adjoining plantation, and thus got leave to proceed unmolested. Soon after I arrived safe at Fauconberg, and found my dearest friend much better.

‘ But on the 26th, in the morning, mistaking the day-light for moon-shine, I overslept myself, and knew not how to return to the Hope, as my barge and negroes could not pass without being well known to the colonel. ‘ Delay was useless; so out I set, trusting entirely to the ingenuity of my slaves, who put me ashore just before we came in sight of the headquarters; when one of them escorted me through the woods, and I arrived safe at the Hope. But here my barge soon followed under a guard, and all my poor slaves prisoners, with an order from Fourgeoud for me to flog every one of them, as they had been apprehended without a pass, while their excuse was that they had been out a fishing for their *massera*.

‘ Their fidelity to me upon this occasion was truly astonishing, as they all declared they would have preferred being cut in pieces, rather than betray the secrets of so good a master. However, the danger was soon over, as I confirmed what they had said, and added, that the fish were intended to *regale the hero*; after which I made a donation of two gallons of rum among my sable privy-counsellors. This passage, however trifling, may serve as a sample not only of European weakness, but of African firmness and resolution.

‘ Notwithstanding my preparation, still colonel Fourgeoud did not visit me on the 27th, but the next morning Joanna arrived, accompanied by a stout black, who was her uncle,

and whose arm was decorated with a silver band, on which were engraved these words: "True to the Europeans." This man, who was named Cojo, having voluntarily fought against the rebels, before his companions, by the inhuman treatment of Mr. D. B. and his overseer, had been forced to join them. From these he related to us the following remarkable story, having a little girl, called Tamera, by the hand:—"This child's father," said he, "is one whose name is Jolly Cœur, the first captain belonging to Baron's men, and, not without cause, one of the fiercest rebels in the forest, which he has lately shewn on the neighbouring estate of New Rosenback, where your colonel now commands. On that estate one Schults, a Jew, being the manager of Fauconberg, the rebels suddenly appeared, and took possession of the whole plantation. Having tied the hands of Schults, and plundered the house, they next began to feasting and dancing, before they thought proper to end his miserable existence. In this deplorable situation now lay the victim, only waiting Baron's signal for death, when his eyes chancing to catch the above captain's, Jolly Cœur, he addressed him nearly in the following words:—'O Jolly Cœur, now remember Mr. Schults, who was once your deputy-master; remember the dainties I gave you from my own table, when you were only a child, and my favourite, my darling, among so many others: remember this, and now spare my life by your powerful intercession.'—The reply of Jolly Cœur was memorable:—'I remember it perfectly well: but you, O tyrant, recollect how you ravished my poor mother, and flogged my father for coming to her assistance. Recollect, that the shameful act was perpetrated in my infant presence—Recollect this—then die by my hands, and next be damned.'—Saying this, he severed his head from his body with a hatchet at one blow; with which having played at bowls upon the beach, he next cut the skin with a knife from his back, which he spread over one of the cannon to keep the priming dry."—Thus ended the history of Mr. Schults; when Cojo, with young Tamera, departed, and left me to go, with an increased impatience, to receive the news, that I soon was to expect from Amsterdam, viz. when the deserving Joanna

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‘ On the 28th, colonel Fourgeoud arrived about 10 o’clock with one of his officers, and with the very devil painted in his countenance, which alarmed me much. I, however, instantly introduced him to my cottage, where he no sooner saw my mate, than the clouds (like a vapour by the sun) were dispelled from his gloomy forehead; and I must confess, that I never saw him behave with more civility. Having entertained him in the best manner we were able, and now related the story of the Hellespont, he laughed heartily at the stratagem, and giving us both a shake by the hand departed to New Rosenback, in good humour and perfectly contented.

‘ Here I spent the most agreeable hours, constantly accompanied by my young mulatto, upon this elysian plantation—but alas! all at once, in the midst of my hopes, my truly halcyon days were blasted, and I was almost plunged into despair, by receiving the fatal news of the death of Mr. Passalage at Amsterdam, to whom I had written to obtain my mulatto’s manumission; and what must certainly redouble my distress, was the situation in which she proved to be, promising fair to become a mother in the space of a few months. It was now that I saw a thousand horrors intrude all at once upon my dejected spirits; not only my friend but my offspring to be a slave, and a slave under such a government!—Mr. Passalage, on whom I relied, dead—the whole estate going to be sold to a new master—I could not bear it, and was totally distracted; nay, must have died of grief, had not the mildness of her grief supported me, by suggesting the flattering hopes that Lolkens would be still our friend.

‘ Having, on the 12th, swam twice across the river Cottica, which is above half a mile broad, I came home in a shiver, and next day had an intermitting fever: by abstaining, however, from animal food, and using plenty of acid with my drink, I had no doubt of getting well in a few days; the more so, as tamarinds grew here in profusion.

‘ Indeed, on the 16th, I was almost perfectly recovered, (weakness excepted) when about ten in the morning, as I was

sitting with Joanna before my cottage, I had an unexpected visit from a Mr. Steger, who happened to be one of our surgeons. After having felt my pulse, and examined my tongue, he declared without ceremony that I should be dead before the morrow, unless without further delay I made use of his prescription. I acknowledge the sentence staggered me so much that, though at other times I never used medicines at all, I instantly swallowed the dose, which he had prepared for me in a tumbler, without hesitation, but almost as instantly I dropped down on the ground.

‘ In this manner I lay till the 20th, being four days before I came to my senses, when I found myself stretched on a mattress in my little house, with poor Joanna sitting by me alone, and bathed in tears, who begged of me at that time to ask no questions, for fear of hurting my spirits, but who next day related to me the dismal transaction, viz. that the moment I fell, four strong negroes had taken me up, and by her direction placed me where I now was; that the surgeon having put blisters on several parts of my body, had finally declared that I was dead, and had suddenly left the plantation, when a grave and coffin were ordered for my burial on the 17th, which she had prevented by dropping upon her knees to implore a delay; that she had dispatched a black to her aunt at Fauconberg for wine-vinegar, and a bottle of old Rhenish, with the first of which she had constantly bathed my temples, wrists, and feet, by keeping without intermission five wet handkerchiefs tied about them, while with a tea-spoon she had found means to make me swallow a few drops of the wine mulled; that I had lain motionless during all that time; while she had day and night, by the help of Quaco and an old negro, attended me, still hoping for my recovery; for which she now thanked her God. To all this I could only answer by the tear of sympathy that started from my eyes, and a feeble squeeze of my hand.

‘ I had, however, the good fortune to recover, but so slowly that, notwithstanding the great care that was taken of me by that excellent young woman, (to whom alone I owed my life) it was the 15th of June before I could walk by myself, during

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all which time I was carried on a species of chair by two negroes, supported on two poles like a sedan, and fed like an infant, being so lame and enervated that I was not able to bring my hand to my mouth; while poor Joanna (who had suffered too much on my account) was for several days following very ill herself.

‘Great was the change from what I had been but so shortly before—then the most healthy and most happy in body and mind, and now depressed to the lowest ebb, in my constitution and my spirits. My friend Heneman, who visited me every day, at this time told me that upon information he had discovered the medicine which had so nearly killed me to be only tartar-emetick and ipecacuanha, but in too great a quantity, viz. four grains of the first, mixed with 40 grains of the latter; the surgeon having measured my constitution by my size, which is above six feet. I was so much incensed at this piece of stupidity, that on the 4th of June, having drank his Britannic majesty’s health in a rummer of Madeira, and the fatal surgeon coming to make me a bow, he no sooner put his foot on the landing-place, where I was sitting in my palanquin or chair for air, than, having previously clubbed one of the poles that carried me, upon my shoulder, I let it fall upon his guilty pericranium, my strength being as yet too feeble to aim a blow. The poor fellow no sooner felt the weight of the pole, than forgetting the rest of his compliments, he skipped back into his boat with all expedition, with which he decamped as fast as the negroes could row him, to our no small entertainment, who saluted him with three cheers.

‘Being still weak and unfit for duty, I went on a visit to a neighbouring estate, called Egmond, where the planter, Monsieur de Cachelieu, a French gentleman, had given me a most hearty invitation, with Joanna, my boy Quaco, and a white servant.

‘Having determined to ask leave of absence to go for some time to Paramaribo, in hopes that exercise on horseback might do me good, and on the 9th of August, colonel Fourgeoud arrived in the river at the estate Crawassibo, and expecting soon to renew his manœuvres, I, on the 10th wrote him a let-

ter for the above purpose, and also for above six months pay, which was due to me. I was answered, on the 12th, not only with a negative to both my requests, which had been granted to other officers, but in so truly an impertinent a style, as I could not, even from himself, have expected—such as calling in question my zeal, though he knew I was sick; and refusing me my own money, or even the proper remedies and means of recovering. This incensed me so much, that I wrote him a second letter, to let him know I was incapable of doing or asking any thing unbecoming my character, but on the contrary (ill as I was) ready to give him such proofs of my honour as should leave him no further room to doubt of it, should he be pleased to put it to the proof. This epistle, weak and unfit as I was for service, I followed in person two days after, with my French friend Cachelieu for my companion and voucher, who gave me the use of his tilt-barge with eight oars for the purpose.

‘On our arrival I expected to see Fourgeoud raging with resentment, that he would put me under an arrest, and ask an explanation of our last correspondence. But I dreaded not the worst he could do, after the many trials to ruin me which he had already put in execution, and death itself was almost preferable to his cruelty.

‘Monsieur de Cachelieu and I, however, were both disappointed. He not only took us politely by the hand, but solicited us to dine with him, as if nothing had happened. But this affectation I despised, and refused to accept his invitation with contempt, in which I was followed by the French planter. When, in my turn, I enquired for the cause of his refusing my request, and sending me so strange a letter, this was the answer—That 30 or 40 of the Ouca negroes, who were our allies by treaty, had deceived him, in doing nothing while they had been in the woods, and during the time he had been at Paramaribo: that he was in consequence determined to push on the war with double vigour; on which account he had not only forbidden me to go to town, but had since ordered even all the sick officers to come up and to follow the enemy, while they had strength or breath remaining, not so

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much as leaving one at Paramaribo to guard the colours and the regiment's chest, which had both been left to the care of a quarter-master.—This, indeed, was literally the fact; but to this he might safely, and without hurting his conscience, have added, the inveteracy of his disposition, with which he had determined to persecute me and some others to annihilation.

‘I now returned to resume the command at the Hope, where I found my friend Mr. Heneman (who was now made a captain) very sick, with several others. All these, as well as myself, were left without a surgeon, medicines, or money; while as I stated before, the many hogsheads of wine sent from Amsterdam, together with scores of kegs containing preserved vegetables, and other fresh provisions, were for ever kept invisible from the poor, emaciated, and languishing troops, for whom they had certainly been intended by that city. I indeed here made one more attempt to recover our property, but to no purpose; money, medicines, wine, and refreshments, were all kept back. Thus did we continue to pine and lose strength, instead of gaining it. I mean the greatest part of us; as for myself, I had the least cause to complain, being well attended by Joanna and my servants, who the next day all arrived from Egmond at the Hope, besides receiving presents, which were as usual sent me from all quarters. One additional inconvenience I however felt—my feet were infested with chigoes, which I partly impute to having, during my illness, worn stockings and shoes while at the good Frenchman's estate Egmond. Joanna, with her needle, picked twenty-three of these insects out of my left-foot; which being all hatched under the nails, caused, as may be imagined, the most terrible torment, but which I bore without flinching, with the resolution of an African negro.’

Captain Stedman, notwithstanding a dangerous relapse, was condemned to linger at the Hope; while his beloved Joanna's critical situation greatly contributed to his misery. His sufferings were not diminished by the information he received from Mr. Lolkens, that the estate Fauconberg was again transferred, with all its dependants, to Mr. Lude of Amsterdam, with

whom he had not the smallest interest. However, this sentence was alleviated by Mrs. Lolkens, who insisted that Joanna should reside with her at Paramaribo, where she should receive the care and attention that her situation required. After conducting his amiable partner to some distance, he bid her an affectionate farewell, after which he relates the following incident.

‘At my return to the Hope, my indignation was scarcely to be restrained within the bounds of prudence, when I found myself upbraided by my mess-mates for taking care of my own offspring: “Do as we do,” said they, “Stedman, and never fear. If our children are slaves, they are provided for; and if they die, what care we, should they be d—d into the bargain? Therefore keep your sighs in your own belly, and your money in your pocket, my boy, that’s all.”—I repeat this in their own language, to shew how much my feelings must have been hurt and disgusted with similar consolation.

‘The following morning, awaking by day-break in my hammock, the first thing I saw, when looking up, was a snake about two yards long, hanging with its head downwards like a rope, and straight above my face, from which he was not one foot distance, while his tail was twisted round the rafters under the thatch. Observing his eyes bright as stars, and his forked tongue in agitation, I was so distressed that I scarcely had power to avoid him, which however I did, by running out; after which, I heard a rustling in the dry thatch, where the negroes attempted to kill him, but in vain, he having escaped, and thus I cannot say what species he belonged to. Being now by myself, and rather startled by this unwelcome guest, I shut up my house, and lodged and messed with my friends the major, Heneman, and Macdonald.

‘On visiting my boxes, I now found that great depredations had been committed by the ants, which are throughout all Guiana so very numerous, and of so many different species, that once I had a pair of new cotton stockings perfectly destroyed by them in one night only. Those which frequent the estates are generally small, but very troublesome. The only way possible to keep them from the refined sugar, is by hang-

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ing the loaf to the ceiling on a nail, and making a ring of dry chalk around it, very thick, which crumbles down the moment the ants attempt to pass it. I imagined that placing my sugar-boxes in the middle of a tub, and on stone, surrounded with deep water, would have kept back this formidable enemy, but to no purpose: whole armies of the lighter sort (to my astonishment) marched over the surface, and but few of them were drowned. The main body constantly scaled the rock, and in spite of all my efforts made their entry through the key-holes; after which, the only way to clear the garrison is to expose it to a hot sun, which the invaders cannot bear, and all march off in a few minutes. That the ants provide for winter, as not only Dr. Bancroft and many others, but even king Solomon, reports, is found to be an error by the most modern investigation. In Surinam, indeed, there is no winter; but where there is, the ants lie dormant, during which torpid state they want no food.

‘Having written to a Mr. Seifke, to enquire whether it was not in the power of the Governor and Council to relieve a gentleman’s child from bondage, provided there was paid to its master such a ransom as their wisdom should judge adequate; I received for answer, that no money or interest could purchase its freedom, without the proprietor’s consent; since, according to law, it was just as much a slave as if it had been born in Africa, and imported from the coast of Guinea. This information now perfectly completed my misery, and I at last had recourse to drinking; which temporary relief, however, only caused my spirits to flow higher, in order to make them sink lower after its evaporation.

‘During this conflict it happened that I was invited with the major to dine, at an estate called Knoppemonbo, in the Casavinica creek, where a Mr. De Graay, the proprietor, did every thing in his power to amuse me, but to no purpose.—At last, seeing me seated by myself on a small bridge that led to a grove of orange-trees, with a settled gloom on my countenance, he accosted me, and taking me by the hand, to my astonishment, pronounced the following words:

“ Sir, I am acquainted by Mr. Lolkens with the cause of your just distress. Heaven never left a good intention unrewarded. I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that Mr. Lude has chosen *me* for his administrator; and that from this day I shall pride myself in making it my business to render you any service with that gentleman, as well as the virtuous Joanna, whose deserving character has attracted the attention of so many people, while your laudable conduct redounds to your lasting honour throughout the colony.”

‘ No angel descending from above could have brought me a more welcome message; and no criminal under sentence of death could have received a reprieve with greater joy. The weight of a mill-stone was removed from my labouring breast; and having made Mr. De Graay repeat his promise, I felt I should yet be happy. Soon after this I was surrounded by several gentlemen and ladies, to whom my friend had communicated his generous intentions. They congratulated me on my sensibility, and on having met with so valuable an acquaintance. All seemed to partake in the pleasure that I now felt; and the day being spent in mirth and conviviality, I returned to the Hope, much better pleased than when I left it, where next day the whole company was entertained by major Medler; nor did we separate, or cease feasting up and down the river, till the 13th of November, when we once more spent the day at Knoppemonbo.

‘ Here Mr. De Graay, having bought some new slaves, gave a holiday to all the negroes on his estate; and here I had the opportunity of seeing the diversions peculiar to that people: the Loango dancing, as performed by the Loango negroes, male and female; consisting from first to last in such a scene of wanton and lascivious gestures, as nothing but a heated imagination and a constant practice could enable them to perform. These dances, which are performed to the sound of a drum, to which they strike time by clapping of hands, may properly be considered as a kind of play or pantomime divided into so many acts, which lasts for some hours. But the most remarkable is, that during this representation, the actors, in-

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stead of being fatigued, become more and more enlivened and animated, till they are bathed in sweat like post-horses, and their passions wound up to such a degree, that nature being overcome, they are ready to drop into convulsions.

‘However indelicate the above exhibitions may be, fashion has rendered them no more disgusting than any other diversions to the European and Creole ladies, who in company with the gentlemen crowd about them without the least reserve, to enjoy what they call a hearty laugh; while such scenes would change an English woman’s face from white to scarlet.’

Fourgeoud, with all the able troops he could collect, which were now not much more than 100, had again entered the forest, where he destroyed some fields belonging to the enemy. But the negroes continued to elude his pursuits, and occasionally pillaged several plantations. On the 4th of December, our hero received the tidings that his Joanna was delivered of a strong and beautiful boy, and on that same day he wrote to Mr. Lude at Amsterdam to obtain her manumission. Being now perfectly recovered, he wrote to Fourgeoud requesting that he might either be permitted to accompany him in the woods, or to go for some time to Paramaribo, but neither the one nor the other request was granted.

‘In this situation,’ says he, ‘I wrote a letter to town, to inform my poor friend that I was well, with which I went to the river side to look out for a boat, and towards noon hailed the tent-barge belonging to Fauconberg, which was rowing with the overseer to Paramaribo. This was, unfortunately, a new superintendant; and not knowing me, he refused to come ashore for the message. However, seeing the negroes rest upon their oars, I took the letter in my teeth, and leaped instantly into the river to dispatch it, knowing they would put me again on *terra-firma*. Having thus swam with the stream, in my shirt and trowsers, till I came within two oars length of the boat, I held up the letter in my hand, and called out, “Who the devil are you, that refuse to take on board a piece of paper?” When, being answered in French, “Je suis Jean Bearnee, paysan de Gauscogne, a votre service,” I

had the mortification to see them pull away without a possibility of overtaking them, or returning.

' In this distress I had now nothing left but to perish, it being impossible to swim against the stream, especially as I was incumbered with my clothes. I struggled, however, but sunk twice to the bottom in the attempt; and must inevitably have been drowned, had I not caught hold of a projecting paling that was erected in the river for the purpose of catching fish. To this I remained sticking fast; when a Dutch carpenter, who observed me from the top of the sugar-mill, called out, that the English captain was trying to kill himself. On this news a dozen stout negroes immediately leapt into the river, and having dragged me safe ashore (under the direction of my good friend Medlar, who was inclined to believe the report) lifted me upon their shoulders to carry me home.

' The disappointment, the danger, the anger, vexation, and shame (for there was no contradicting them) had by this time wound up my passions to such a height, and made such an impression on my spirits, that I became perfectly mad, and had almost perpetrated the act of which I was accused; since, on crossing over a small bridge, I actually gave a sudden twist, and, from their shoulders, threw myself with a jerk headlong over the balustrades once more into the water. Here a second time I was picked up by the negroes; and now the suspicion being confirmed that I intended suicide, I was put to my hammock, with two sentinels appointed to guard me during the night, while several of my friends were shedding tears around me. Having, however, drank some mulled wine, I enjoyed a sound nap till morning; when appearing calm and perfectly composed, my words, to my great joy, began to be credited, and the apprehensions of my companions were dispelled.—Such was the danger to which I was exposed by the unkind and inhospitable behaviour of this Frenchman, who nearly obliterated the memory of this transaction by his many succeeding instances of unprecedented barbarity.

' The following day, however, by one of my negroes and a small canoe, I sent my letter to Paramaribo. Seeing now

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about noon a melasses-boat at anchor before the Hope, in which was broiling in the sun an English soldier and two negroes, I made the first come ashore, and entertained the poor fellow with a bowl of punch and a good meal of eggs and bacon, to his great surprize, he not having expected this kindness, or to be accosted in his own country language at this place. What were this man's grateful acknowledgments, whose name was Charles Macdonald, will be seen in the sequel of my work.

' I now, obtaining my friend Medlar's concurrence, took a trip on the 18th to Paramaribo; where I found my boy bathing in Madeira wine and water (which is often practised in Surinam), while his mother was happy, and perfectly recovered. Having seen them well, and presented Joanna with a gold medal, that my father had given my mother on the day of my birth, also thanking Mrs. Lolkens for her very great kindness, I immediately returned to the Hope, where I arrived on the 22d of December.

' The poor negro whom I had sent before me with a letter had been less fortunate than I was, having his canoe upset in the middle of the river Surinam, by the roughness of the water. With great address, however, he kept himself in an erect posture (for this man could not swim), and by the buoyancy and resistance of the boat against his feet, he was enabled just to keep his head above the water, while the weight of his body kept the sunk canoe from moving. In this precarious attitude, he was picked up by a man-of-war's boat; who, taking away the canoe for their trouble, put him ashore at Paramaribo. He kept the letter, however surprizing, still in his mouth, and being eager to deliver it, he accidentally ran into a wrong house; where, being taken for a thief (for refusing to let them read it), he was tied up to receive 400 lashes; but, fortunately, was reprieved by the intercession of an English merchant of the name of Gordon, who was my particular friend, and knew the negro. Thus did the poor fellow escape drowning, and being flogged, either of which he would have undergone, sooner than disclose what he called the secrets of

his *massera*.—Query, How many Europeans are possessed of equal fidelity and fortitude?

Fourgeoud continued to pursue his usual system of severity. A soldier was shot by a court martial, and two young officers were sent to Europe under arrest. His frequent excursions into the woods had obtained him the title of the wandering Jew. At last, however, he permitted Stedman to follow him, with some other officers who were actually in want, at a time when 15 hogsheads of fine claret, and 15,000 florins, were waiting his commands at Paramaribo. On the 25th of January, 1775, a great number of Indians arrived in town, which gave captain Stedman an opportunity of seeing and describing these people, who are the aborigines of the country. They are divided into casts or tribes. They are in general of a copper colour, and are yet a happy people, being uncontaminated with European vices. This consideration leads our author to the speech of an Indian, in reply to a sermon preached by a Swedish minister at an Indian treaty, held at Cove-togue, of which the principal substance was as follows:

“Do you then really believe, that we and our fathers are all, as you would teach us, condemned to suffer eternal torments in another world, because we have not been taught your mysterious novelties? Are we not the work of God? And can the Almighty not manifest his will without the help of a book? If this is true, and God is just, then how is it consistent with his justice to force life upon us without our consent, and then condemn us all to eternal damnation, because we did not meet with you. No, sir, we are convinced that the Christians are more depraved in their morals than we Indians, if we may judge of their doctrines by the general badness of their lives.”

‘There cannot indeed be a more laudable undertaking, than the endeavour to engraft divine truths on the pure minds of these innocent people, so worthy of instruction; but I fear, and it is too observable, that the words of one good man will have but little effect, when the practice of the far greater number of Moravian preachers settled amongst them on the banks

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of the Seramica river, where they endeavour to convert the negroes as well as the Indians, is in direct contradiction to his life and precepts.

‘ Polygamy is admitted among them, and every Indian is allowed to take as many wives as he can provide for, though he generally takes but one, of whom he is extremely jealous, and whom he knocks on the head the moment he receives a decided proof of her incontinency. These Indians never beat their children on any account whatever, nor give them any education, except in hunting, fishing, running, and swimming; yet they never use abusive language to each other, nor steal; and a lie is totally unknown among them. To which I may add, that no people can be more grateful when treated with civility; but I must not forget that, on the other hand, they are extremely revengeful, especially when, as they suppose, they are injured without just provocation.

‘ The only vices with which to my knowledge they are acquainted, if such amongst them they may be called, are excessive drinking when opportunity offers, and an unaccountable indolence: an Indian’s only occupation, when he is not hunting or fishing, being to lounge in his hammock, picking his teeth, plucking the hair from his beard, examining his face in a bit of broken looking-glass, &c.

‘ The Indians in general are a very cleanly people, bathing twice or thrice every day in the river, or the sea. They have all thick hair, which never turns grey, and the head never becomes bald; both sexes pluck out every vestige of hair on their bodies, that on the head excepted; it is of a shining black, which the men wear short, but the women very long, hanging over the back and shoulders to their middle; as if they had studied the scriptures, where it is said that long hair is an ornament to a woman, but a disgrace to a man.

‘ The Guiana Indians are neither tall, strong, nor muscular: but they are straight, active, and generally in a good state of health. Their faces have no expression whatever, that of a placid good-nature and content excepted; and their features are beautifully regular, with small black eyes, thin lips, and very white teeth. However, all the Guiana Indians

disfigure themselves more or less by the use of *arnatto* or *row*. This, it must be allowed, is extremely useful in scorching climates, where the inhabitants of both sexes go almost naked. One day, laughing at a young man who came from the neighbourhood of Cayenne, he answered me in French, saying, "My skin, sir, is kept soft, too great perspiration is prevented, and the mosquitoes do not sting me as they do you: besides its beauty, this is the use of my painting red.—Now what is the reason of your painting white?" [meaning powder in the hair] "You are, without any reason, wasting your flour, dirtying your coat, and making yourself look grey before your time."

'The only dress worn by these Indians consists of a slip of black or blue cotton worn by the men to cover their nakedness, and called *camisa*; something like that of the negroes. For the same purpose, the women wear an apron of cotton, with party-coloured glass beads strung upon it, which they call *queiou*. Both sexes wearing these belts or girdles so low, that they almost slide down over their buttocks, and make their bodies appear wonderfully long.

'In the inland parts, many Indians of both sexes go quite naked, without any covering whatever. The Indian women also, by way of ornament, often cut small holes in their ears and their lips, in the first of which they wear corks or small pieces of light wood, and through their lips they stick thorns, and sometimes all the pins they can lay hold of, with the heads inside against the gums, and the points like a beard dangling down upon their chins. Some wear feathers through their cheeks and through their noses, though this is but seldom.—But the most unaccountable ornament in my opinion is, that the girls at ten or twelve years old work a kind of cotton garter round their ancles, and the same below the knee; which being very tight, and remaining for ever, occasions their calves to swell to an enormous size by the time they are grown women, and gives their limbs a very odd and unnatural appearance. They also wear girdles, bands, and bracelets, of various coloured beads, shells, and fish-teeth, about their necks, across their shoulders, or round their arms, but generally

above the elbow. Upon the whole, the Indian women; naturally disagreeable in their shapes, with their toes turned inwards, are still less attractive with their ornaments.

‘ The only vegetables cultivated by these people are the yams, plantains, and bananas. Small fish also form a considerable part of their food. Their drink consists of various fluids. A drink they call *piworree* is a composition of the cassava bread, chewed by the females, and fermented with water, when it has something of the taste of ale, and will intoxicate. It appears at first very extraordinary, that what has been within the teeth, mixed with the saliva, and spit from the mouths of others, should be drank without loathing by the people of any country: but those who have read Cook’s voyages will find that this practice was so common in the islands he discovered, that had he not complied with it, his refusal might have fatally offended the inhabitants.

‘ The employments of the men are, as I have stated, but very few, and, indeed, may be comprized in two words, hunting and fishing: at both of these exercises they are indisputably more expert than any other nation whatever. For the first they are provided with bows and arrows of their own manufacturing, the arrows being of different kinds for different purposes. A few of the arrows are frequently dipped in the *woorara* poison (the bark of a tree so called), which is instantaneously fatal. Their manner of catching fish is, by inclosing the entry of small creeks or shoal water with a paleing, shooting them with their trident arrows, or poisoning the water by throwing in it the roots of *hiaree*, by which the fish become stupified, and are taken by the hand, while they float on the surface of the water.

‘ Every Indian carries a club, which they call *apootoo*, for their defence. These clubs are made of the heaviest wood in the forest; they are about 18 inches long, flat at both ends, and square, but heavier at the one end than the other. In the middle they are thinner, and are wound about with strong cotton threads, so as to be grasped, having a loop to secure them round the wrist, as the sword tassels are used by some

cavalry. One blow with this club, in which is frequently fixed a sharp stone, scatters the brains.

‘The women are occupied in planting cassava, plantains, and other roots, besides yams, &c. in dressing the victuals, and in making earthen pots, bracelets, baskets, or cotton hammocks.

‘The Indian girls arrive at the time of puberty before twelve years old, indeed commonly much sooner, at which time they are married. They go about the menial services for their husbands the day after their delivery; then, however ridiculous and incredible it may appear, it is an absolute fact, that every one of these gentlemen lie in their hammocks for above a month, groaning and grunting as if they had been themselves in labour, during which time all the women must attend them with extraordinary care and the best of food.—This the Indian calls enjoying himself, and resting from his labour. Most of these people esteeming a flat forehead a mark of beauty, they compress the heads of their children, it is said, immediately after their birth, like the Chactaws of North America.

‘No Indian wife eats with her husband, but serves him as a slave: for this reason they can take but very little care of their infants, which, nevertheless, are always healthy and undeformed. When they travel, they carry them in small hammocks slung over one shoulder, in which sits the child, having one before and the other behind the mother. For an emetic they use the juice of tobacco, which they seldom smoke.

‘When the Indians are dying, either from sickness or old age, the latter of which is most frequently the cause, the devil or *yawahoo* is at midnight exorcised by the *peii* or priest, by means of rattling a calabash filled with small stones, peas, and beads, accompanied by a long speech. When an Indian is dead, being first washed and anointed, he is buried naked, in a new cotton bag, in a sitting attitude, his head resting on the palms of his hands, his elbows on his knees, and all his implements of war and hunting by his side; during which time his relations and neighbours rend the air by their dismal lamenta-

tions; but soon after, by a general drunken riot, they drown their sorrows till the following year. This practice, by the way, bears some affinity to Dr. Smollet's description of a burial in the Highlands of Scotland. At the expiration of the year, the body, being rotten, is dug up, and the bones distributed to all the friends and acquaintance, during which ceremony the former rites are repeated for the last time, and the whole neighbourhood look out for another settlement.—Some tribes of Indians, having put their deceased friends in the above posture, place them naked for a few days under where the bones being picked clean by the *piree* and other fish, the skeleton is dried in the sun, and hung up to the ceiling of their houses or wigwams; and this is done as the strongest instance of their great regard for their departed friend.

• Notwithstanding the Guiana Indians are upon the whole a peaceable people, they sometimes go to war among themselves, purely for the sake of capturing prisoners, to which they are too much encouraged by the Christians, who receive them in exchange for other commodities, and make them slaves, which is too frequently practised. But these kind of slaves are only for shew and parade, as they absolutely refuse to work, and if at all ill-treated, or especially if beaten, they pine and languish like caged turtles, even refusing food, till by affliction and want they are exhausted, and finally expire.

At this time Fourgeoud's corps was reinforced with 240 men, under colonel Seyburgh, and who arrived from Holland in two divisions. These troops were immediately encamped at Magdenberg, and captain Stedman, having taken leave of his little family, set out on the 6th of February, 1775, on his fourth campaign. The commander, being now supplied with fresh troops, sent a whole ship load of invalids to Holland. Our hero, after his arrival at the camp, had nearly lost his life by an accident. 'Two negroes,' says he, 'of the estate Goet-Accord being employed in hunting and fishing for Fourgeoud, one of them, named Philander, proposed to me to accompany them in the wood, where we might chance to meet with some pingoes, or powes; but a heavy shower of rain

coming on, when we had only walked two miles, we determined to relinquish the project, and repair to the small spot called the Jacob for shelter, to gain which we were obliged to pass through a deep marsh. Having waded till up to our arm-pits, Philander, who was the finest man without exception I ever saw, began to swim, as did his companion, with one hand, holding their fowling pieces above the water with the other, and desired me to follow them. This I tried, having nothing on but my shirt and trowsers; when, after swimming two or three strokes, I sunk to the bottom like a stone, with the weight of my musket; but relinquishing it, I immediately rose to the surface, and begged that Philander would dive for it; who having secured his own to a mangrove, brought it up without difficulty. At this moment a thundering voice called out through the thicket, "*Who sommo datty?* and another *sooto sooto da Bonny kiry da dago?* Who is that? Who is there? Fire! shoot! it is Bonny, kill the dog!" and looking up, we saw the muzzles of six muskets presented upon us at a very little distance indeed. I instantly dived, but Philander answered that we belonged to Magdenberg, we were permitted to come ashore one by one at the Jacob, and found that these trusty negro slaves, having heard a flouncing in the water, and seeing three armed men in the marsh, took it for granted that the rebels were coming, headed by Bonny himself, for whom they had mistaken me, being almost naked and so much sun-burnt; besides my hair, which was short and curly, I entirely resembled a mulatto. Being refreshed with some rum, and having dried ourselves by a good fire, we now returned back to the Magdenberg, where I congratulated myself on my escape.

'It was now in the midst of the rainy season that Fourgeoud declared his intentions of scouring the woods; and, in consequence, gave orders for two strong columns to march on the 3d of April. The reason for chusing this season was, that if he could now dislodge the rebels they must starve for want, which would not be the case in the dry months, for then the forest abounds with fruits and roots of many kinds. This was, however, in my opinion, a false piece of generalship; if

it be considered on the other hand, the dreadful havoc which the wet weather must produce among his troops, of which he killed, I suppose, at the rate of twenty to one rebel negro.

‘Fourgeoud was himself of a very strong constitution, having been used to hunting and shooting the whole of his lifetime: to which he added temperance, and the daily use of his beloved *tisan*. His dress consisted of nothing but a waistcoat, through one of the button-holes of which he wore his sword: on his head he wore a cotton night-cap, with a white beaver hat above it, and in his hand a cane; but he seldom carried his musket or his pistols. I have seen him all in rags and bare-footed, like the meanest soldier.

‘Accordingly in the morning, at six o’clock, the two columns set out upon their march, the one commanded by colonel Seyburgh, and the other by Fourgeoud; to which last I had the honour to belong. Our poor men were now loaded like asses. They were ordered to put their fire-locks in their knapsacks, of course the muzzles excepted: this was to keep them from the rain, which absolutely poured in torrents. Our course was south by east, up among the banks of the Tempatee Creek, where we soon came to swamps, and were marching in the water above our knees.

‘On the 4th we marched again, our course south by east, till two o’clock, when we changed our course to south-south-west. The word of command being again given on the 5th, we unslung our hammocks, then marched south-south-east, and south by east, through deep and dangerous marshes up to our breasts in water, and in very heavy rains; in which helpless situation we were suddenly alarmed, not by a party of rebels, but by a company of large monkies, which we discovered in the tops of the trees, knocking a kind of nuts against the branches to break them for their contents, with the greatest regularity, as it were keeping time alternately at every stroke, while some of them threw down their burthens; and a nut falling from a considerable height, broke the head of one of our marines. The sound of breaking these nuts, we had mistaken for the rebel negroes cutting wood with an axe.

' After travelling on the 6th over very high mountains to the northward, we crossed an arm of the Mapanee creek in the evening, and once more returned to our camp at Magdenberg; Mr. Noot, one of our officers, and several others, were so ill, that they were carried in their hammocks upon poles by the negro slaves, and a great number were so very weak that they could scarcely support the weight of their emaciated bodies; but to complain of sickness was to mutiny, till they dropped down almost ready to expire.

' Colonel Fourgeoud now treated me with the greatest politeness. And at his earnest request I presented him, on the 20th, with various drawings, representing himself and his troops struggling with the hardships annexed to the service they went on; and which drawings he told me were intended to shew the prince of Orange and the States a specimen of what he and his marines did undergo in the forests of Guiana. He now gave me leave, for 14 days, to go to town to wish Mr. Kennedy a prosperous voyage to Europe.

' The first visit I now made was to Mr. Kennedy, to bid him farewell; I then paid 500 florins for the black boy, for which he gave me a receipt, and Quaco was mine. About this time I fell ill with a fever, which however lasted but a few days. Walking out on the 1st of May, I observed a crowd of people along the water-side, before the house of Mr. S—lk—r, where appeared the dreadful spectacle of a beautiful young mulatto girl, floating on her back, with her hands tied behind, her throat most shockingly cut, and stabbed in the breast with a knife in more than eight or ten different places. This was reported to have been the work of that infernal fiend, Mrs. S—lk—r, from a motive of jealousy, suspecting that her husband might fall in love with this unfortunate female. This monster of a woman had before drowned a negro infant merely for crying, as I have said; nay, she was accused of still greater barbarity, were greater barbarity possible. Arriving one day at her estate to view some negroes newly purchased, her eye chanced to fall on a fine negro girl about 15 years of age, who could not even speak the language of the country. Observing her to be a remarkable fine figure, with a sweet en-

gaging countenance, her diabolical jealousy instantly prompted her to burn the girl's cheeks, mouth, and forehead with a red-hot iron; she also cut the tendon Achilles of one of her legs, thus rendering her a monster of deformity, and a miserable object as long as she lived: the poor victim not knowing what she had done to deserve so severe a punishment.

‘ Some of the negroes now representing to this lady the many cruelties she daily inflicted, and supplicating her to be of a milder disposition; it was reported that she instantly knocked out the brains of a Quaderoon child, and caused the heads of two young negroes, its relations, to be chopped off, for having endeavoured to prevent her; these heads, when she left the estate, were tied in silk handkerchiefs, and carried by the surviving relations to Paramaribo, where they were laid at the feet of the governor, with the following speech:

“ *This*, your excellency, is the head of my son, and *this* is the head of my brother, struck off by our mistress's command, for endeavouring to prevent her murders. We know our evidence is nothing in a state of slavery; but, if these bloody heads be a sufficient proof of what we say, we only beg that such pernicious acts may be prevented in time to come; in acknowledgement of which we will all cheerfully shed our blood for the preservation and prosperity of our master, our mistress, and the colony.”

‘ To this humble and pathetic remonstrance the answer was, that they were all liars, and should, as such, be flogged round the streets of Paramaribo; and this most iniquitous sentence was executed with the greatest severity.

‘ On the 2d of May, being again perfectly recovered, I took leave of Joanna and her Johnny, for thus he was named after myself; and on the 5th, I arrived at Magdenberg.— Here colonel Seyburgh, and what he called his officers, seemed to form a distinct corps from those of Fourgeoud. They appeared totally destitute of politeness, and treated each other with the greatest rudeness, while their colonel was most cordially hated by the commander-in-chief. This state of things contributed to render our situation still more disagreeable: I however had at this time little reason to complain, being for

the present, at least, in the good graces of Fourgeoud, which, by a trifling accident, I had nearly again forfeited. Colonel Fourgeoud having purchased of some Indians a couple of most beautiful parrots, called here *cocatoos*, which were in a cage ready to be shipped off as a present to her royal highness the princess of Orange, I requested Monsieur Laurant, his valet-de-chambre, to take one of them out, that I might the better examine it, but the cage door was no sooner opened, than it gave a shriek, and disappeared in an instant, flying over the Tempatee creek. The poor valet stood perfectly petrified, and could only pronounce "*Voyez-vous?*" whilst I took to my heels to avoid the approaching storm, but stopped near enough to observe Fourgeoud's motions through the under-wood. He was no sooner informed of the *dreadful* accident, than he began to storm, swear, and dance like a man totally deprived of reason: he next, by kicking it, killed a poor waddling duck belonging to one of our officers; and at last actually trampled his very wig under his feet, while I stood trembling, and the rest of the spectators were laughing aloud. In about half an hour his passion began gradually to cool, and then he had recourse to a stratagem which actually brought the parrot back into his possession. He placed the remaining captive on the top of its cage, tied by a small cord round its claw; this he set in the open air, putting a ripe banana inside, and leaving the door open, so that any other bird except the prisoner might come at it; the poor captive at last becoming very hungry, made such a noise and shrieking as to be heard by his mate, who returning entered the cage in quest of food, and was once more deprived of his freedom. I now ventured from my concealment, and was acquitted after a gentle reproof; though poor Laurant, as may well be imagined, did not escape without a thundering lecture.

' On the 9th, an accident had nearly befallen me, which must have caused me much poignant and lasting sorrow. My black boy, washing my cotton hammock in the Tempatee creek, was suddenly carried to the bottom by the rapidity of the stream, and entangled in its lashings, so that both the one and the other disappeared; the boy, however, luckily extri-

eated himself, though with great difficulty, and to my great joy, though more than half drowned, appeared once more on terra firma; when he had the presence of mind instantly to sink a large fish-hook, with a lead tied to a strong line, some yards below the spot, with which he actually brought up the hammock, to our astonishment, the stream running so swift that it rolled over the ground, and was liable to shift its station every moment.

‘ The following day, as captain Hamel was angling, his tackle got fast at the bottom of the creek, when, in diving to clear it, I struck my ancle with such violence against a rock, that it was several months before it was perfectly recovered.

‘ These accidents appeared greatly to entertain colonel Seyburgh, while in return I could not help feeling a degree of indignation at what I considered as unhandsome behaviour; but the most extraordinary circumstance was, that this disgust between Seyburgh and myself seemed to gain me the favour of old Fourgeoud, almost as much as if I had destroyed half the rebel negroes in the colony. During all this time strong patrols cruized between Magdenberg, La Rochelle, and the Jew Savannah; and on the 17th, the commander-in-chief marched to Patamaca with nearly half of his troops, leaving *me* the command of those that remained on the mountain, for I was not able to accompany him, having by this time a dangerous mortification in my ancle.

‘ I had now the disagreeable news, that all my letters for Europe were sunk on board captain Visser, who was wrecked in the Texel roads among the ice. I was also sincerely grieved to hear that my good friend Mr. Kennedy, with his lady and family, had taken their final farewel of the colony, and sailed for Holland. This gentleman, Mr. Gordon, and a Mr. Gourluy, were the only Scotch; a Mr. Buckland, a Mr. Townsend, and Mr. Halfhide, the only English; and captain Macneal, the only native of Ireland, residing in this colony.

‘ On the 28th, colonel Fourgeoud returned with his command to Patamaca, much emaciated himself, and his men nearly exhausted with fatigue. He had left a great number

behind him in the hospital at La Rochelle, but heard no account whatever of the rebels, although he varied his route every time.

‘ Our old commander and I were now inseparable friends, to whose board being daily invited, he requested me to paint his portrait at full length in his bush equipage, which was to be engraved at the expence of the town of Amsterdam, and where he thought himself now as great a man as the duke of Cumberland was in England after the battle of Culloden.

‘ Having provided a large sheet of paper, and some China ink, I began to delineate this wonderful character in his own hut. While I was now looking full in his face, to examine the features of this first of despots, and laughing aloud, to this & how he and I now sat staring at one another, the whole mountain was suddenly shook by a tremendous clap of thunder, while the lightning actually scorched the colonel’s forehead; and, what is very curious, broke all the eggs under a hen that was sitting in a corner of the room where we were engaged. The hero’s features being re-composed, I proceeded, and the picture was completed in a short time after, to his great satisfaction.

‘ By the 2d of June, the Hope in Comewina was become so very unwholesome for want of cleanliness, and being kept free from inundations (as it was much neglected by the newly-arrived troops which were now stationed there), that the commanding officer and most of his men were rendered unfit for duty by sickness, and many of them already buried. To this place colonel Fourgeoud ordered down captain Brant to take the command, with a fresh supply of men, and orders to send, not to town but to Magdenberg, all the invalids he should relieve. These orders he gave to the above officer in such a brutal manner, and dispatched him so suddenly, that he had not even time to pack up his clothes; while colonel Seyburgh deprived him of his only servant, whom he took for himself. This usage so much affected captain Brant, that he burst into tears, and declared he did not wish longer to survive such galling treatment: he then departed to the Hope, truly with a broken heart.

‘ Upon his arrival he was informed that captain Brough, the late commanding officer, was dead. This poor man had been on hard service in the woods, and being very corpulent, could no longer support the fatigues and excessive heat; he melted down very fast, and a putrid fever at last occasioned his dissolution. Captain Brant was soon followed by colonel Seyburgh to the Hope, with orders to inspect the sick.

‘ Several officers kept poultry, numbers of which were now taken away every night by some unknown marauder; when a captain Bolts (suspecting the *coati-mondi*, or *crabba-doga*) made a trap of an empty wine-chest, only by supporting the lid with a stick fixed to a long cord, into which (having first secured all the other poultry) he put a couple of live fowls, the whole guarded by two negroes at some distance. They had not been many hours on their post, when hearing the fowls shriek, one negro pulled the rope, and the other ran to secure the invader by sitting on the lid: when this proved to be actually a young tiger, who would yet have cleared his way by beating against the box, but that it was immediately secured by strong ropes, and drawn along, with the prisoner in it, to the river; where, being held under water, he was drowned, under the most vigorous efforts, by beating against the chest to effect his escape. Captain Bolts ordered the skin to be taken off, which he kept in remembrance of so very strange a circumstance.

‘ As I now seemed to be on a friendly intercourse with colonel Fourgeoud, I one day presented the old gentleman with a plan and bird’s-eye view of all the encampment of Magdenberg, which pleased him so much that he sent this (as he had done the first) to the prince of Orange and the duke of Brunswick, as a specimen of his military manœuvres, &c. This present had the desired effect; for I not only became one of his favourites, but declaring his highest esteem for the Scots and English, he even promised to recommend me in particular at court. I was so satisfied with this change in his behaviour, that I now took the blame of all former animosity on myself. His attention, however, was suddenly attracted by affairs of more consequence; since, on the 14th of June,

the news arrived that some rebel huts were discovered near the sea-side; that captain Meyland had marched in quest of the enemy, with 140 men of the Society troops, and had actually discovered them; but in wading through a deep marsh, had been first attacked by the negroes, who had killed several of his people, (among whom his nephew, a young volunteer), wounded more, and beaten back the whole detachment, after they had already passed the marsh, and were mounting fast on the opposite beach to storm the village.

‘ In the mean time the disagreeable news arrived, that captain Brant was almost dead with a violent illness at the Hope, which was at present the place where a number of the troops were quartered, though no better than a pest-house, by the inundations; and for the command at this place (as being one of his favourites) Fourgeoud now singled me out: declaring, that I might thank my sound constitution for bestowing on me this honour. From this conduct, I plainly discovered that all his friendship was entirely interested; and I felt my resentment involuntarily rekindled against him, for thus sending me to an inglorious death, when he had so fair an opportunity of employing me honourably on actual service.

‘ On my arrival at the Hope, my orders were to send poor captain Brant not down to Paramaribo, but to Magdenberg. This young man, however, frustrated the tyrannical command; for, justly suspecting it, he had set out with a tent-barge to town a few hours before I came, where he was no sooner carried to his lodgings than he expired, from the effects of a burning fever, and a broken heart. No man could be more regretted than captain Brant; nor did Fourgeoud ever lose a better officer, or I a sincerer friend.

‘ Here I had an excellent opportunity of acquainting myself with the customs and manner of living of the West India nabobs. A planter in Surinam, when he lives on his estate, (which is but seldom, as they mostly prefer the society of Paramaribo) gets out of his hammock with the rising sun, viz. about six o’clock in the morning, when he makes his appearance under the piazza of his house; where his coffee is ready waiting for him, which he generally takes with his pipe, in-

stead of toast and butter; and there he is attended by half a dozen of the finest young slaves, both male and female, of the plantation, to help him; at this *sanctum-sanctorum* he is next accosted by his overseer, who regularly every morning attends at his levee, and having made his bows at several yards distance, with the most profound respect informs his *greatness* what work was done the day before; what negroes deserted, died, fell sick, recovered, were bought or born; and, above all things, which of them neglected their work, affected sickness, or had been drunk or absent, &c.; the prisoners are generally present, being secured by the negro-drivers, and instantly tied up to the beams of the piazza, or a tree, without so much as being heard in their own defence; when the flogging begins, with men, women, or children, without exception. The instruments of torture on these occasions are long hempen whips, that cut round at every lash, and crack like pistol-shot; during which they alternately repeat, "Dan-kee, massera," (Thank you, master). In the mean time he stalks up and down with his overseer, affecting not so much as to hear their cries, till they are sufficiently mangled, when they are untied, and ordered to return to their work, without so much as a dressing.

' This ceremony being over, the dressy negro (a black surgeon) comes to make his report; who being dismissed with a hearty curse, for *allowing* any slaves to be sick, next makes her appearance a superannuated matron, with all the young negro children of the estate, over whom she is governess; these, being clean washed in the river, clap their hands, and cheer in chorus, when they are sent away to breakfast on a large platter of rice and plantains; and the levee ends with a low bow from the overseer, as it begun.

' His worship now saunters out in his morning dress, which consists of a pair of the finest Holland trowsers, white silk stockings, and red or yellow Morocco slippers; the neck of his shirt open, and nothing over it, a loose flowing night-gown of the finest India chintz excepted. On his head is a cotton night-cap, as thin as a cobweb, and over that an enormous beaver hat, that protects his meagre visage from the sun,

which is already the colour of mahogany, while his whole carcase seldom weighs above eight or ten stone, being generally exhausted by the climate and dissipation.

‘Having loitered about his estate, or sometimes ridden on horseback to his fields, to view his increasing stores, he returns about eight o’clock, when, if he goes abroad, he dresses, but if not, remains just as he is. Should the first take place, having only exchanged his trowsers for a pair of thin linen or silk breeches, he sits down, and holding out one foot after the other, like a horse going to be shod, a negro boy puts on his stockings and shoes, which he also buckles, while another dresses his hair, his wig, or shaves his chin, and a third is fanning him to keep off the mosquitoes. Having now shifted, he puts on a thin coat and waistcoat, all white; when, under an umbrella, carried by a black boy, he is conducted to his barge, which is in waiting for him with six or eight oars, well provided with fruit, wine, water, and tobacco, by his overseer, who no sooner has seen him depart, than he resumes the command with all the usual insolence of office. But should this prince not mean to stir from his estate, he goes to breakfast about ten o’clock, for which a table is spread in the large hall, provided with a bacon ham, hung beef, fowls, or pigeons boiled; plantains and sweet cassavas roasted; bread, butter, cheese, &c. with which he drinks strong beer, and a glass of Madeira, Rhenish, or Mozell wine, while the cringing overseer sits at the further end, keeping his proper distance, both being served by the most beautiful slaves that can be selected;—and this is called breaking the poor gentleman’s fast.

‘After this he takes a book, plays at chess or billiards, entertains himself with music, &c. till the heat of the day forces him to return into his cotton hammock to enjoy his meridian nap, which he could no more dispense with than a Spaniard with his *siesta*, and in which he rocks to and fro, like a performer on the slack-rope, till he falls asleep, without either bed or covering; and during which time he is fanned by a couple of his black attendants, to keep him cool, &c.

‘About three o’clock he awakes by natural instinct, when having washed and perfumed himself, he sits down to dinner,

attended as at breakfast by his deputy governor and sable pages, where nothing is wanting that the world can afford in a western climate, of meat, fowls, venison, fish, vegetables, fruits, &c. and the most exquisite wines are often squandered away in profusion; after this a cup of strong coffee and a liquor finish the repast. At six o'clock he is again waited on by his overseer, attended as in the morning by negro-drivers and prisoners, when the flogging once more having continued for some time, and the necessary orders being given for the next day's work, the assembly is dismissed, and the evening spent with weak punch, sangarœ, cards, and tobacco.—His worship generally begins to yawn about ten or eleven o'clock, when he withdraws, and is undressed by his sooty pages. He then retires to rest, where he passes the night in the arms of one or other of his sable sultanas (for he always keeps a seraglio) till about six in the morning, where he again repairs to his piazza walk, where his pipe and coffee are waiting for him; and where, with the rising sun, he begins his round of dissipation, like a petty monarch, as capricious as he is despotic and despicable.

'The Hope was now truly a most shocking place of residence: here I much regretted my former cottage, and sweet companion, the one in ruins, the other at Paramaribo; while, at present, not a man was to be seen without an ague or fever, or some other wasting complaint. The dysentery also began to make its appearance; and to add to our distress, we had neither surgeon, medicines, nor so much as a light, and very little bread left. I was moved with the situation of the troops, and again distributed all my biscuits, lemons, oranges, sugar, wine, ducks, and fowls, amongst the unhappy sufferers, with a few spermaceti candles.

'On the 23d I sent up to the hospital at Magdenberg two sick officers, Orleigh and Francen, with all the privates that could bear to be transported; and, on the 26th, two fine young officers arrived, unfit for service by ruptures, occasioned by the slippery state of the ground in the rainy season.

'An order at last came for my relief, and I immediately set out for Goot-Accoord, in company with captain Bolts; where

the planter, Mr. de Lange, and his lady, received us with great hospitality. This sugar estate being the farthest that is cultivated in Rio Comewina, and consequently exposed to the neighbourhood of the rebel negroes, makes the slaves liable to their seductions; they are therefore treated with peculiar kindness and indulgence, to prevent their concurring in any insurrection, or being persuaded to leave their present situation.

‘Here we saw a great novelty indeed, the young negro women waiting at the table all stark naked, as they came into the world. I was at first startled at the unusual appearance; and asking the cause, was modestly answered by the lady of the house, that it was ordered so by their mothers and matrons, to prevent (by such means of detection, said they) their too early intercourse with the males, and child-bearing, which would spoil their shapes, weaken their strength, and cramp their growth. Indeed finer made figures I never beheld than were both the men (witness Philander) and the women on this plantation, whose beautiful shapes, liveliness, strength, and activity, were inferior to no Europeans.

‘Next day we departed for Magdenberg an hour before sun-set, against the advice of Mr. and Mrs. de Lange, in a small barge, covered only with a loose awning. We had not rowed above two miles when not only night came on, but we were overtaken by such a shower of rain, as had nearly sunk us, the boat’s gunwale not being more than two inches above the water: however, by the help of our hats and calibashes, we kept her afloat, while a negro sat upon her bow, holding out a boat-hook straight before him to prevent us from being upset, by inadvertently running, in pitch darkness, against the roots of mangroves, &c. which thickly lined both the banks of the river all the way upwards.

‘In this state of wet and obscurity, at ten o’clock at night, we came to the Jacob, being just afloat and no more; for Bolts and I had no sooner leaped upon the beach, than the boat sunk with all that was in her, the slaves luckily swimming ashore. Alas! amongst the wreck, was my poor box, with my journal, and all my paintings, which had cost me above two long years so much labour, care, and attention. I was

truly distressed at this loss, when a skilful negro dived several times to the bottom, and at last brought me up my little treasure, which, though thoroughly soaked, I was very happy to have again in my hands. Thus ended our shipwreck, when having drank some warm grog and slung our hammocks, we all fell asleep round a good fire, by which I made shift to dry myself, and, what was of more consequence, my papers.

‘ The following morning we again set out, and rowed for Magdenberg, but about half-way our voyage was once more obstructed by an enormous tree which had accidentally fallen across the creek, so that we could neither drag the boat over nor under it. Thus we were again obliged to return to the Jacob, whence we now proceeded to Magdenberg on foot, through thorns, roots, brambles, and briers, and where we finally arrived wet and bloody; and my ankle, which had been nearly well, fresh wounded to the bone, the skin and flesh being quite torn away by the numberless obstructions to our steps.

‘ Here we were acquainted that Mr. Orleigh, one of the two officers that I had set up to Magdenberg from the Hope on the 23d, was no more. Thus died almost all our gentlemen, who had been during the last month upon the hopeless Hope, from which now scarcely one single private returned in health; and this, I am firmly of opinion, was greatly owing to the dry and burning month of June, when the sun suddenly scorched them, after marching and even sleeping in cold watery swamps, and constant heavy showers during the rainy season. However, I hitherto escaped by the strength of my constitution and good spirits, which I determined by every possible means to keep from depression, by laughing, whistling, singing, and (God forgive me!) sometimes swearing, while all the rest were sighing, bewailing, and dying around me.

‘ The rainy season being again approaching, colonel Fourgeoud, having selected all the remaining healthy people, who now amounted to but 180 in number, on the 3d of July, 1775, proceeded on his march for Barbacoeba, in the river Cottica; which spot he appointed for the general rendezvous, previous

to the grand attack on the rebels. Of this party I had the honour to be one; but on the surgeon's declaring that I should run the hazard of losing my foot if I marched into the woods, I was ordered to remain at Magdenberg, with liberty, if I soon recovered, to join Fourgeoud, and make the best of my way to Barbacoeba. My limb, indeed, was now so swelled, and my wound so black with the mortification, that an amputation was dreaded by Mr. Knollaert, Fourgeoud's surgeon, and I could not even stand without excruciating pain.—I shall bear the mark of it as long as I live.

‘I have said that all the officers and most of the privates who had lately been stationed at the Hope, had died, or were sent up dangerously ill, while I had escaped the contagion: But, alas! now it became my turn, having only had a reprieve, and no more: for on the 9th I was seized with the same burning fever that had carried off the rest; and even my black boy Quaco was very ill.

‘On the 14th, necessity forced me to give up the command to another officer, and depart from this inhospitable spot on my way to Paramaribo: I could however reach no farther than Goet-Accoord, and there, on the 15th, all expected my death; when an old negro woman found means to make me partake of some butter-milk boiled with some barley and mellasses, which was the first food I had tasted since I was taken ill. This certainly did me infinite service; and the day following I was again able to be transported: the black boy also was much better.

‘The evening of the 15th I reached Fauconberg, where I was met by a packet of six or eight letters from different friends, accompanied with presents of hung-beef, bullocks' tongues, Madeira, porter, rum, and two gallons of excellent shrub, besides a fine bacon-ham, and a beautiful pointer; both the last from the identical Charles Macdonald, the English sailor, which he had brought me from Virginia, in return for the little civility I had formerly shewn him so unexpectedly at the Hope. This mark of the poor fellow's gratitude and generosity, the true characteristics of a British tar, gave me greater pleasure than all the things I received put together.

But still I must except two letters, the one from Mr. Lude of Amsterdam, and the other from Mr. de Graav, his administrator at Paramaribo, acquainting me finally, and to my heartfelt satisfaction, that the amiable Joanna and the little boy were at my disposal, but at no less a price than 2,000 florins, amounting, with other expences, to near 200*l.* sterling, a sum which I was totally unable to raise. I already owed the sum of 50*l.*, that I had borrowed for the black boy Quaco's redemption; but Joanna was to me invaluable, and though appraised at one-twentieth part of the whole estate, which had been sold for 40,000 florins, no price could be too dear for a young woman, possessing so much excellence, provided I could pay it.

‘ On the next day I went down so far as the estate Bergshove, whence the administrator, a Mr. Gourley, humanely caused me to be transported to Paramaribo in a decent tent-barge with six oars; but relapsing, I arrived just alive on the evening of the 19th, having past the preceding night on the estate called the Jalosee, apparently dead.

‘ Being now in a comfortable lodging at Mr. de la Mare's, and attended by so good a creature as Joanna, I recovered apace; and on the 25th was so well, that I was able to walk out for the first time, when I dined with Mrs. Godefroy, Mr. de Graav not being in town to concert matters relative to the emancipation of Joanna, who had now once more literally saved my life.

‘ On the 30th I met the poor sailor, Charles Macdonald, and having just bought 30 gallons of Grenada rum, I gave him a handsome return for his bacon-ham and his dog, besides a fine cork-screw (mother of pearl set in silver) as a keep-sake, he being to sail the day following for Virginia, on board the Peggy, captain Lewis, who at my recommendation, promised to make him his mate.

‘ On the 3d of August, Mr. de Graav being arrived in town, having finally settled affairs with Mr. Lolkens, the late administrator of Fauconberg, I now thought proper to take the first opportunity of settling matters with him, by proposing him to give me credit till I should have it in my power to

pay the money for which Joanna and my Johnny had been sold to me, and which I was determined to save out of my pay, if I should exist on bread, salt, and water; though even then this debt could not be discharged in less time than two or three years. Providence however interfered, and at this moment sent that excellent woman, Mrs. Godefroy, to my assistance; for no sooner was she acquainted with my difficult and anxious situation, than she sent for me to dine with her, when she addressed me in the following terms:

“ I know, good Stedman, the present feelings of your heart, and the incapacity of an officer, from his income only, to accomplish such a purpose as the completion of your wishes. But know, that even in Surinam virtue will meet friends.—Your manly sensibility for that deserving young woman and her child must claim the esteem of all rational persons, in spite of malice and folly: and so much has this action recommended you to my attention in particular, that I should think myself culpable in not patronizing your laudible intentions.—Permit me then to participate in your happiness, and in the future prospect of the virtuous Joanna and her little boy, by requesting your acceptance of the sum of 2,000 florins, or any sum you stand in need of; with which money go immediately, Stedman, go and redeem innocence, good sense, and beauty from the jaws of tyranny, oppression, and insult.”

“ Seeing me thunder-struck, and gazing upon her in a state of stupefaction, without the power of speaking, she continued, with a divine benignity:

“ Let not your delicacy, my friend, take the alarm, and interfere in this business: soldiers and sailors ought ever to be the men of the fewest compliments; and all I expect from you is, that you say not one word more on the subject.”—As soon as I recovered I replied, “ that I was at a loss how to express my admiration of such benevolence.” I said, “ that Joanna, who had so frequently preserved my life, had certainly merited my eternal affection: but that my gratitude could not be less to one who had so generously put me in the way of redeeming that invaluable woman from slavery;” and concluded with observing, “ that I could not now touch a shilling of *the mo-*

ney, but should have the honour to call upon her the next day;" and immediately retired.

'I was no sooner returned home, than I acquainted Joanna with all that had happened; who, bursting into tears, called out, "*Gado sa bresse da woma!*"—"God will bless this woman!" and insisted that she herself should be mortgaged to Mrs. Godefroy till every farthing should be paid: she indeed was very anxious to see the emancipation of her boy, but till that was done, she absolutely refused to accept of her own freedom. I shall not here endeavour to paint the contest which I sustained between affection and duty, but bluntly say that I yielded to the wish of this so charming a creature, and whose sentiments endeared her to me still more. Thus I instantly drew up a paper, declaring my Joanna, according to her desire, from this day to be the property of Mrs. Godefroy, till the last farthing of the money she lent me should be repaid; and, on the following day, with the consent of her relations, [without the consent of parents, brothers, and sisters, no respectable slaves are individually sold in Surinam,] I conducted her to Mrs. Godefroy's house, where, throwing herself at the feet of that incomparable woman, Joanna herself put the paper into her hands: but this lady having raised her up, no sooner had read the contents, than she exclaimed, "Must it be so? Then come here, my Joanna, I have a spirit to accept of you not as my slave, but more as my companion: you shall have a house built in my orange-garden, with my own slaves to attend you, till Providence shall call me away, when you shall be perfectly free, as indeed you now are the moment you wish to possess your manumission; and this you claim both by your extraction and your conduct." [I have already mentioned that Joanna was by birth a gentleman's daughter from Holland; and her mother's family were most distinguished people on the coast of Africa.] On these terms, and on no other, I accepted of the money on the 5th, and carrying it in my hat to Mr. de Graav's, I laid it on the table, demanding a receipt in full; and Joanna was transmitted from the wretched estate Fauconberg, to the protection of the first woman perhaps in all the Dutch West Indies, if not in the

world; and for which she thanked me with a look that could only be expressed by the COUNTEenance OF AN ANGEL.

‘Mr. de Graav, on counting the money, addressed me in the following terms:—“Stedman, 200 florins of this sum belong to me as administrator. Permit me also to have a small share in this happy event, by not accepting this dividend, as I shall find myself amply paid by the pleasure of having been instrumental in bring about what seems so much to contribute to the enjoyment of two deserving people.”

‘Having thanked my disinterested friend with an affectionate shake by the hand, I immediately returned the 200 florins to Mrs. Godefroy, and all were happy. I must not omit, as a farther proof of Mr. Godefroy’s humane character, that on hearing of the dejected situation of the sick at Magdenberg, she at this time sent them a present of a whole barge-load of fruit, vegetables, and refreshments of every kind that the colony could afford, for their relief.

‘On the 10th, finding myself sufficiently recovered, and ready once more to enter the forest, I bade farewell to my sweet family and friends, leaving the first still at Mr. de la Mare’s, at their request; and cheerfully set off with a tent-boat on my *fifth* campaign, in the hopes of accompanying Fourgeoud; who, having assembled all his remaining forces, and made the necessary arrangement to attack the enemy, was now determined to march in a very few days.’

The rebels, with an intention of braving Fourgeoud, had set fire to all the huts in two different camps. The enraged colonel immediately pursued them through the woods, at the head of 200 Europeans. Having marched during two days through the woods, marshes, and swamps, the men were ordered to halt and swing their hammocks, and to sleep without a covering, to prevent the enemy from hearing the sound of cutting the trees; nor were any fires allowed to be lighted, nor a word to be spoken, while a strict watch was kept round the camp. These, in fact, were all very necessary precautions; ‘but,’ says Stedman, ‘if we were not discovered by the enemy, we were almost devoured by the clouds of gnats or musquitoes, which arose from a neighbouring marsh: for my own

part I suffered more here than I had even done on board the fatal barges in the upper Cottica, as we could make no smoke to drive them away. In this situation I saw the poor men dig holes with their bayonets in the earth, into which they thrust their heads, stopping the entry and covering their necks with their hammocks, while they lay with their bellies on the ground. To sleep in any other position was absolutely impossible.

‘By the advice of a negro slave, I however enjoyed my rest. —“Climb,” said he, “massera, with your hammock to the top of the highest tree that is in the camp, and there go sleep; not a single musquito will disturb you, the swarm will be sufficiently attracted by the smell of the sweating multitude below.”—This I immediately tried, and slept exalted near 100 feet above my companions, whom I could not see for the myriads of musquitoes below me, nor even hear them, from the incessant buzzing of these troublesome insects.’

On the next day, August 17, the colonel with his exhausted party continued to traverse the wilds, but at night they were alarmed by the rebels firing some shot into the camp. On the 19th, they were joined by Mr. Vinsack with 100 rangers. After struggling against the formidable obstacles which this wild country presented, and enduring the tormenting stings of the hideous insects which filled the air, the whole party encamped a few miles from the swamp in which captain Meyland and his party had been defeated. Here they passed a sad dreary and rainy night.

‘On the morning of the 20th,’ says our author, ‘we entered this formidable swamp, and soon found ourselves above our middle in water, well prepared nevertheless for the warm reception we expected from the opposite shore, as the former party had so fatally experienced. After wading above half a mile, our grenadiers rapidly mounted the beach with cocked firelocks and bayonets fixed; the main body instantly followed, and also mounting the beach, the whole formed without the smallest opposition. We now beheld a spectacle sufficient to shock the most intrepid, the ground strewn with skulls, bones, and ribs, still covered with human flesh, and besmeared

with the blood of those unfortunate men who were killed with captain Meyland.—That officer had indeed found means to bury them, but the rebels had dug them up for the sake of their clothes, and to mangle their bodies, which, like ferocious animals, they had torn limb from limb. Amongst these, the fate of Meyland's nephew, a promising young man, was peculiarly affecting. This being the second or third heap of human bones we had met with in our march, I frankly acknowledge did not operate upon me as a stimulative to engage with negroes; yet these awful relics spurred on the common soldiers to take revenge for the loss of their massacred companions.

‘ We now followed a kind of foot-path made by the enemy, which after a little turning led us in a westerly direction.—Serjeant Fowler, who preceded the van-guard, at this time came to me pale, declaring, that the sight of the mangled bodies had made him extremely sick; and that he felt himself completely disarmed, being that moment, as it were, rivetted to the ground, without the power of advancing one single step, or knowing how to conceal his tremor: — I d—n'd him for a pitiful scoundrel, and had only time to order him to the rear.

‘ At 10 o'clock we met a small party of the rebels, with each a green hamper upon his back; they fired at us, dropped their bundles, and taking to their heels ran back towards their village. These we since learned were transporting rice to another settlement for their subsistence, when they should be expelled from Gado-Saby (the name of this settlement) which they daily expected, since they had been discovered by the gallant captain Meyland. A little after this we perceived an empty shed, where a picquet had been stationed to give notice of any danger, but they had precipitately deserted their post. We now vigorously redoubled our pace till about noon; when two more musket shot were fired at us by another advanced guard of the enemy, as a signal to the chief, Bonny, of our approach. Major Medlar and myself, with a few of the van-guard, and a small party of the rangers, at this time rushing forward, soon came to a fine field of rice and Indian corn: we here made a halt for the other troops, particularly to give

time for our rear to close up, some of whom were at least two miles behind us; and during which period we might have been cut to pieces, the enemy, unknown to us, having surrounded the field in which we were, as we were afterwards informed.

‘ In about half an hour the whole body joined us, when we instantly proceeded by cutting through a small defile of the wood, into which we had no sooner entered, than a heavy fire commenced from every side, the rebels retiring, and we advancing, until we arrived in a most beautiful field of ripe rice, in the form of an oblong square, from which the rebel town appeared at a distance, in the form of an amphitheatre, sheltered from the sun by the foliage of a few lofty trees, the whole presenting a *coup d’œil* romantic and enchanting beyond conception. In this field the firing was kept up, like one continued peal of thunder, for above 40 minutes, during which time our black warriors behaved with wonderful intrepidity and skill. The white soldiers were too eager, and fired over one another at random, yet I could perceive a few of them act with the utmost coolness, and imitate the rangers with great effect; amongst these was *now* the once-daunted Fowler, who being roused from his tremor by the firing at the beginning of the onset, had rushed to the front, and fully re-established his character, by fighting, like a brave fellow, by my side, until the muzzle of his musket was split by a shot from the enemy, which rendered it useless; a ball passed through my shirt, and grazed the skin of my shoulder; Mr. Decabanes, my lieutenant, had the sling of his fusée shot away: several others were wounded, some mortally, but I did not, to my surprise, observe one instance of immediate death—for which seeming miracle, however, I shall presently account.

‘ This whole field of rice was surrounded and interspersed by the enemy with the large trunks and roots of heavy trees, in order to make our approach both difficult and dangerous; behind these temporary fortifications the rebels lay lurking, and firing upon us with deliberate aim, whilst their bulwarks certainly protected them in some measure from the effects of our fire, we having a vast number of these fallen trees to

scramble over before we could reach the town: but we still advanced in defiance of every obstacle.

‘ Being now about to enter the town, a rebel captain, wearing a tarnished gold-laced hat, and bearing in his hand a torch of flaming straw, seeing their ruin inevitable, had the resolution to stay and set the town on fire in our presence, which, by the dryness of the houses, instantly produced a general conflagration, when the firing from the woods began gradually to cease. This bold and masterly manœuvre not only prevented that carnage to which the common soldiers in the heat of victory are but too prone, but also afforded the enemy an opportunity of retreating with their wives and children, and carrying off their most useful effects; whilst our pursuit, and seizing the spoil, were at once frustrated both by the ascending flames, and the unfathomable marsh, which we soon discovered on all sides to surround us.

‘ I must indeed confess that within this last hour the continued noise of the firing, shouting, and hallooing of black and white men mixed together; the groans of the wounded and the dying, all weltering in blood and in dust; the shrill sound of the negro horns from every quarter, and the crackling of the burning village; to which if we add the clouds of smoke that every where surrounded us, the ascending flames, &c. &c. formed, on the whole, such an uncommon scene as I cannot describe, and would perhaps not have been unworthy of the pencil of Hogarth.

‘ In short, having washed off the dust, sweat, and blood, and having refreshed ourselves with a dram and a bit of bread till the flames subsided, we next went to inspect the smoking ruins; and found the above town to have consisted of about 100 houses or huts, some of which were two stories high.

‘ We found some knives, broken china and earthen pots; amongst the latter one filled with rice and palm-tree worms fell to my share: as this wanted no fire to dress the contents, and as my appetite was very keen, I emptied it in a few minutes, and made a very hearty meal. Some were afraid this mess had been left behind with a view to poison us; but this

suspicion, proved however, fortunately for me, to be without foundation.

‘The silver plate I also purchased from the men that picked it up, determined to carry it off as a trophy, and I have used it ever since. Here we likewise found three skulls fixed upon stakes, the mournful relics of some of our own brave people, who had been formerly killed; but what surprized us most, were the heads of two young negroes, which seemed as if fresh cut off; these we since learned had been executed during the night of the 17th, for speaking in *our* favour.

‘Having buried all these remains promiscuously in one pit, we returned to sling our hammocks, under those beautiful and lofty trees which I have already mentioned; but here I am sorry to add, we found the rangers shockingly employed, in playing at bowls with those very heads they had just chopped off from their enemies; who, deaf to all remonstrance,

‘ “ Resistless drove the *batter’d* skulls before,
And dash’d and mangled all the brains with gore.”

‘To reprimand them for this inhuman diversion would have been useless, as they assured us it was “*Condre fussee*,” the custom of the country; and concluded the horrid sport by kicking and mangling the heads, cutting off the lips, cheeks, ears, and noses; they even took out the jaw-bones, which they smoke-dried, together with the right-hands, to carry home as trophies of their victory, to their wives and relations.

‘About three o’clock, whilst we were resting from our fatigue, we were once more surprized by an attack from a party of the enemy; but after firing a few shots they were repulsed. This unexpected visit, however, put us more upon our guard during the night, so that no fires were allowed to be lighted, and double sentinels were placed around the camp. Thus situated, being overcome by excessive toil and heat, I after sun-set leaped into my hammock, and soon fell fast asleep; but in less than two hours my faithful black boy Quaco, roused me, in the middle of pitch darkness, crying, “*Massera, massera, boosee negro, boosee negro!*”—“Master, master! the enemy, the enemy!” Hearing, at the same mo-

ment, a brisk firing, with the balls whistling through the branches, I fully concluded that the rebels were in the very midst of our camp. Surprized, and not perfectly awake, I suddenly started up with my fusee cocked; and (without knowing where I ran) first threw down Quaco, and next fell down myself, over two or three bodies that lay upon the ground, and which I imagined to be killed. When one of them, "d—ning me for a son of a b—ch, told me, if I moved I was a dead man; colonel Fourgeoud having issued orders for the troops to lie flat on their bellies all the night, and not to fire, as most of their ammunition had been expended the preceding day." I took his advice, and soon discovered him by his voice to be one of our own grenadiers, named Thomson. In this situation we lay prostrate on our arms until sunrise, during which time a most abusive dialogue was carried on indeed between the rebels and the rangers, each party cursing and menacing the other at a very terrible rate; the former "reproaching the rangers as poltroons and traitors to their countrymen, and challenging them next day to single combat; swearing they only wished to lave their hands in the blood of such scoundrels, who had been the principal agents in destroying their flourishing settlement." The rangers "d—n'd the rebels for a parcel of pitiful skulking rascals, whom hey would fight one to two in the open field, if they dared but to shew their *ugly* faces; swearing they had only deserted their masters because they were too lazy to work."—After this they insulted each other by a kind of war-whoop, sung victorious songs on both sides, and sounded their horns as signals of defiance; when the firing commenced once more from the rebel negroes, and continued during the night, accompanied by their martial voices, at intermissions resounding through the woods, which echo seemed to answer with redoubled force.

'At length poor Fourgeoud took a part in the conversation, myself and serjeant Fowler acting as interpreters, by hallooing, which created more mirth than I had been witness to for some time: he promised them life, liberty, victuals, drink, and all they wanted. They replied, with a loud laugh, that

they wanted nothing from him; characterized him as a half-starved Frenchman, who had run away from his own country; and assured him if he would pay *them* a visit, he should return unhurt, and not with an empty belly. They told us, that we were to be pitied more than they; that we were *white slaves*, hired to be shot at and starved for four-pence a day; that they scorned to expend much more of their powder upon such scarecrows; but should the planters or overseers dare to enter the woods, not a soul of them should ever return, any more than the perfidious rangers, some of whom might depend upon being massacred that day, or the next; and concluded by declaring that Bonny should soon be the governor of the colony.

‘ After this they tinkled their bill-hooks, fired a volley, and gave three cheers; which being answered by the rangers, the clamour ended, and the rebels dispersed with the rising sun.

‘ Our fatigue was great; yet, notwithstanding the length of the contest, our loss by the enemy’s fire was very inconsiderable, for which I promised to account; and this mystery was now explained, when the surgeons, dressing the wounded, extracted very few leaden bullets, but many pebbles, coat-buttons, and pieces of silver coin, which could do us little mischief, by penetrating scarcely more than skin deep. We also observed, that several of the poor rebel negroes who were shot, had only the shards of Spa-water cans, instead of flints, which could seldom do execution; and it was certainly owing to these circumstances that we came off so well, as I have mentioned before; yet we were nevertheless not without a number of very dangerous scars and contusions.

‘ The rebels of this settlement being apparently subdued and dispersed, colonel Fourgeoud made it his next business to destroy the surrounding harvest; and I received orders to begin the devastation, with 80 marines and 20 rangers. In the afternoon captain Hamel was detached, with 50 marines and 30 rangers, to reconnoitre behind the village, and to discover, if possible, how the rebels could pass to and fro through an unfathomable marsh, whilst we were unable to pursue them.

This officer at length perceived a kind of floating bridge, amongst the reeds.

‘On the morning of the 22d, our commander ordered a detachment to cross the bridge and go on discovery, at all hazards. Of this party I led the van. To our astonishment, we now discovered that the reason of the rebels shouting, singing, and firing, on the night of the 20th, was not only to cover the retreat of their friends, by cutting off the pass, but by their unremitting noise to prevent us from discovering that they were employed, men, women, and children, in preparing warimboes or hampers filled with the finest rice, yams, and cassava, for subsistence during their escape, of which they had only left the chaff and refuse for our contemplation. This was certainly such a trait of generalship in a savage people, whom we affected to despise, as would have done honour to any European commander, and has perhaps been seldom equalled by more civilized nations.’

Colonel Fourgeoud enraged at being thus foiled by a naked negro, swore he would pursue Bonny to the world's end; and immediately set out on this impracticable project without either provisions or ammunition. The men were put on half allowance, and captain Bolts with 130 rangers were dispatched to bring shot and provisions from Barbacoeba. But in the evening this party returned, with a number of wounded, having been attacked by the rebels in a swamp, where, agreeably to their threat, they made dreadful havock among the rangers, without hurting a single European. Fourgeoud instantly adopted measures for securing his retreat.

‘Here,’ says our author, ‘I must remark in colonel Fourgeoud, an instance of *bad policy*, at least, though many have not hesitated to bestow upon it a harsher epithet. This evening, upon our return, when we entered the ominous swamp in which captain Meyland had been defeated, he suddenly caught up one of the empty bread-boxes, and having stuffed a hammock into it, he carried it before him as a shield, crying aloud to his men, “*Sauve qui peut!*” At this moment a Walloon named Mattow stepped up to him, and said, “*Mon*

colonel, but few can, and I hope fewer still will, follow your example. Drop your shield, and do not intimidate your soldiers: one brave man creates others, then follow thy Mattow, and fear for nothing." Upon which he instantly threw open his bosom, and charging his bayonet, was the first that mounted the opposite beach: this intrepidity inspired the rest, and they passed the marshy swamp without opposition; for which act of heroism this private marine was since made a *serjeant*.

The whole party reached the place of rendezvous at Barba-coeba in a most shocking condition; and so ended this expedition, which, however, had a tendency to disconcert and terrify the rebels, who soon after retired to an inaccessible depth in the forest.

The misery and hardships endured by the troops at this place is inconceivable. The bloody flux made a most dreadful havoc amongst the Europeans, for the rangers had forsaken the camp, while Fourgeoud's inhumanity to the officers was such, that he would not allow those who were past recovery a marine to attend them. Stedman was obliged to share the scanty allowance made to his black boy, with the casual allowance of some mountain cabbage or palm tree worms. When a poor fellow died his effects were sold at the rate of 700 per cent, and this infamous debt was accordingly stated in their accounts. A private marine, of the name of Sem, at this time, swore, in the heat of his resentment, that he would certainly shoot Fourgeoud, whenever he had an opportunity; which being overhead, upon condition of repentance, 'I bribed the evidence,' says Stedman, 'not to inform against him, and so literally saved this poor rash fellow from dying on the gallows.'

On the 6th of September a reinforcement of about 200 men joined Fourgeoud, and at the same time that the rebels were again in motion; but as the slaves who carried the burdens were sent home to their masters, nothing but skin and bone, to be exchanged for others, the troops could not move until the arrival of these 'unfortunate *beasts of burden*.'

The fresh supply of slaves having arrived, the troops re-entered the woods. 'Nothing,' says the indignant Stedman, 'could be more diabolically cruel, than the persecution of the new slaves during this march; not only overloaded and starved, but beat like mules or asses by every ill-tempered individual—for instance, I saw Fourgeoud's black favourite, Gousary, knock down a poor negro slave for *not* taking up his load—and the chief himself knock him down for taking it up *too soon*; when the wretch, not knowing what to do, exclaimed, in hopes of pity, "*O massera Jesus Christus!*" and was actually knocked down a third time by an enthusiast, for daring to utter a name with which he was so little acquainted.'

On this march Fourgeoud was joined by 100 fresh rangers. On the 19th colonel Seyburgh was dispatched to the river Cottica, with 140 men. Captain Stedman was ordered to accompany this party. Shortly after our captain and a few rangers pursued a rebel, and discovered several huts belonging to them, but Seyburgh peremptorily refused Stedman and a few volunteers to attack them. In the eagerness of pursuit our hero tore one of his thighs in a terrible manner.

'Next morning,' our author proceeds, 'on waking about four o'clock in my hammock, I was extremely alarmed at finding myself weltering in congealed blood, and without feeling any pain whatever. Having started up, and run for the surgeon, with a fire-brand in one hand, and all over besmeared with gore; to which if added my pale face, short hair, and tattered apparel, he might well ask the question,

' " Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn'd,
Bring with thee airs of heaven or blasts from hell!"

The mystery however was, that I was bitten by the *vampire* or *spectre* of Guiana: this is no other than a bat of monstrous size, that sucks the blood from men and cattle when they are fast asleep, even sometimes till they die; and as the manner in which they proceed is truly wonderful, I shall endeavour to give a distinct account of it.—Knowing by instinct that the person they intend to attack is in a sound slumber, they ge-

nerally alight near the feet, where while the creature continues fanning with his enormous wings, which keeps one cool, he bites a piece out of the tip of the great toe, so very small indeed that the head of a pin could scarcely be received into the wound, which is consequently not painful; yet through this orifice he continues to suck the blood, until he is obliged to disgorge. He then begins again, and thus continues sucking and disgorging till he is scarcely able to fly, and the sufferer has often been known to sleep from time into eternity. Having applied tobacco-ashes as the best remedy, and washed the gore from myself and from my hammock, I observed several small heaps of congealed blood all round the place where I had lain, upon the ground: upon examining which, the surgeon judged that I had lost at least 12 or 14 ounces during the night.'

After two days march Seyburgh's party approached a quagmire, at the edge of which he discovered several dead bodies of the rebels. 'Here,' says Stedman, 'it was evident that if I had been permitted to pursue the rebels when first discovered, they would have been between two fires, in which case few would have escaped.'

The loaded slaves and many of the marines, each man with nine days provisions on his back, remained entangled and struggling in the quagmire. Stedman, who commanded the rear-guard, fearful lest the whole should be cut off, resigned the command to a lieutenant, and with difficulty overtook colonel Seyburgh, whom he begged to halt till the rear-guard came up. This was refused, on which the captain returned, and at seven o'clock at night the last man was dragged out of the mud.

'My solicitude,' says he, 'for the people, powder, and provisions, instead of procuring me commendation, brought me now into such difficulties, and produced a misunderstanding of such a serious nature, and so very distressing to my feelings, that it had nearly terminated my existence. The reader may judge of my mortification, when I inform him, that, instead of receiving the approbation of my commander, as I certainly deserved, I was immediately on my arrival in

camp put under an arrest, to be tried by a court-martial for disobedience of orders. Colonel Seyburgh and I had never been on amicable terms; and though, during the former part of this march, he had treated me with apparent civility, yet from this step it was evident that he was my mortal enemy. I must not omit, that though a prisoner (strange to tell!) I was ordered to carry my own arms and accoutrements, till further orders.

‘On the 24th, we took our departure very early, and directed our course S. and S. by W. when we passed close by Pinenburgh, a forsaken rebel village formerly mentioned—I still a prisoner, in the most dejected spirits.

‘On the following day our course was S. W. through a matkey or trumpeter morass, which was very deep, and which we entered when we were all in a violent sweat by advancing too fast while upon hard ground: but the health of our men was not made an object during this expedition, though so much wanted to succeed.

‘Having got again upon a ridge, an accident had now nearly befallen me incomparably greater than all my former misfortunes put together; this was no less than, having fallen into a deep reverie, while I followed the rear-guard, I imperceptibly wandered away from the troops, till I was entirely lost and by myself in an unbounded wilderness. Quaco no sooner had missed me, than, poor fellow, at every hazard he rushed through the wood to recover his master, and by a miracle saw me as I was sitting under a tree, in the most dejected state of mind that it is possible to conceive, immersed in grief and abandoned to despair.

‘I had this morning thought myself perfectly unhappy, but now would have given the world once more to have been in the same situation. Good God! entirely cut off from society, in a forest, surrounded by relentless savages! while a deluge of rain poured from the heavens, and tigers, famine, with every woe and every danger, stared me in the face. Farewell, for ever Joanna!—Such was the picture of my mind, when on discovering the boy, I started up from the ground, and a new life instantly diffused itself through my whole frame.

Having now straggled backwards and forwards together for some time, I called to the lad that I saw a pool through which the troops seemed to have passed, the water being fresh clouded with mud: but to my utter disappointment, he observed, that this puddle was only occasioned by a *tapira* (by some called the hippopotamus of South America), and shewed me the print of the animal's foot in the surrounding mire. At this time the boy shed tears, crying, "*Massera, we deade, we deade!*" In the midst, however, of this distress, recollecting that, by the map, the river Pirica was due west from us, I determined to lose no more time, but to set forward without delay.

'Thus having fresh primed my fusee, I ordered Quaco to follow me; but again to no purpose, my compass being with the troops, and not a glimpse of sunshine, owing to the heavy rain; till the black boy put me in mind that on the south side the bark of the trees was usually most smooth. This in fact was a fortunate hint, and we proceeded through thick and thin, till, overcome by fatigue and hunger, we both sat down, and looked at each other, exactly like two victims doomed to execution. During this last mournful silence, we heard a sound like coughing and the rustling of arms, which, thank heaven! soon proved to be our own troops, luckily for us, resting near an old encampment, where the pursuing party from the river Pirica had lately lodged. At this moment, notwithstanding my present situation, I enjoyed an extraordinary degree of mental happiness; which proves how much all good and evil are only of a relative nature. Having now been heartily welcomed by the other officers, I partook of some cold beef and bread, and a gourd full of grog, as did also my poor boy. After this regale the party rose, and pursuing our march, we once more entered a quag-mire, or rather a mud-pool, the surface being too thin to carry us; through which having waded till it was pitch dark, we were obliged to encamp in the very middle of it, the troops by slinging their hammocks in the trees, one above another, and the slaves on temporary rafts made above the surface of the water, on which were also placed the powder, the victuals, &c.'

After marching two days more, the party encamped on the river Pirica, where Stedman refusing to apologize to the colonel, was *disarmed* and placed under the guard of a sentinel. The marines loudly declared their determination to mutiny in his behalf, and their favourite was obliged to use both threats and remonstrances to divert them from their design. The party finally arrived at Devil's Harwar on the 1st of October.

'I had written,' says Stedman, 'on the preceding day to colonel Fourgeoud, informing him, that I was weary of existence in my present state, and requesting that a court-martial might be *immediately* called; and this letter I had sent by a slave to the commander-in-chief. On our arrival at this station, I indeed found very hard means employed to bring me to terms; and such was the severe usage I experienced, that one of the rangers, called captain Quaci, exclaimed, "If in this manner these Europeans treat one another, is it to be wondered at that they should take a pleasure in torturing us poor Africans?"

'At Devil's Harwar, however, my stormy voyage drew to a conclusion. Colonel Seyburgh was evidently convinced that he was wrong, and knowing what must follow, now only wished for a handsome opportunity of extricating himself from the effects of his unmanly passion. On the 2d, therefore, he asked me with a smile, "If I had a heart to forget and forgive?" To which I sternly replied, "No!"—He repeated the question.—I then said, "I venerated truth, and would never confess myself in an error, unless my heart coincided in the acknowledgement—that this was a concession I would make to no man living, and least of all to him."—He here grasped my hand, begged me to be pacified, and declared, "That he would make peace on any terms;" but I again drew back with contempt, and decidedly avowed, "That I could not agree to any compromise, unless he owned *his fault* in the presence of all the officers, and with his own hands tearing from his journal every sentence that could reflect upon my character." The journals were immediately produced, my arms were returned me, and my triumph was attended with every circumstance that could add to my full satisfaction. I then frankly and sin-

cerely gave my hand to colonel Seyburgh, who gave a feast in honour of our reconciliation; and after dinner, to my utter surprize, produced the letter which I had written to colonel Fourgeoud, which he acknowledged he had intercepted to prevent the affair proceeding to extremities: at the same time he acquainted me, that Fourgeoud was encamped at the Wana creek, instead of lieutenant-colonel de Borgnes, who had fallen sick, and was gone to Paramaribo. A perfect reconciliation having taken place, and every thing being now adjusted, while the troops having had some rest, we set out once more on the 4th for the head-quarters at Jerusalem; but I was obliged to leave poor Quaco, who was very ill, at Devil's Harwar, under care of the surgeon.'

On the 9th, Fourgeoud arrived at Jerusalem with half of his party, the other half being sent to receive the *coup-de-grace* in the hospital at Devil's Harwar. Death had now become so familiar to them, that upon losing a friend or relation, the first question generally was, has he left any brandy, ruin, or tobacco? However, on the 15th, the indefatigable Fourgeoud set out again in pursuit of his enemies. Having discovered some cultivated grounds belonging to the rebels, the whole was destroyed, and the party after nine days severe march returned to Jerusalem.

Distress and famine were now ready to attack even the officers, who sat smoking grey paper, and chewing leaves and leather, as a substitute for tobacco. Our author was both naked and starved, with a running ulcer in his foot, and 'To complete my misery,' says he, 'the little blood I had remaining was in *two* successive nights again nearly sucked away by the vampire-bat, or spectre: thus I fainted away in my hammock, and was almost sorry to recover, particularly upon being informed by a letter that Joanna and her boy were dying with a putrid fever at Paramaribo.

'At last, on the 12th of November, serjeant Fowler arrived from Mocha, with one of my boxes; when this poor fellow, notwithstanding my situation, made me laugh aloud by producing a letter from his mother in Europe, which made him

extremely happy; and which I must beg leave *verbatim* to transcribe.

“ Dair Shonny,

“ I have relaved your girl from Bridevail—and your shifts from the panbroker—the baby is died—blessed be Goat, while I hop yow be living. I am your laffing mother tell death,

“ Maggy Fowler.”

On the 14th, a barge filled with sick and dying was sent to the hospital at Devil's Harwar. Even Fourgeoud was obliged to relinquish his command and proceed to town, being dangerously ill of the phrenzy fever, and on the same evening his successor was attacked by the same disorder, which at this time had become very common. The whole camp was also plagued by swarms of locusts, which devoured every thing that lay in their way. Our author proceeds:—

‘ I have just mentioned, that, on account of a very bad foot, I had been returned unfit for duty by the surgeon, on the 19th of November; yet this day, December 5th, another surgeon, with two captains, and the adjutant, were sent to inspect both *me* and a captain Perret, who was also sick. The surgeon gave his declaration upon oath, that we were incapable of walking without danger, much more of enduring fatigue; but Seyburgh, who was still in his phrenzy fever, declared we should instantly enter the woods, though he should see us carried in two *wheel-barrows*. Poor captain Perret complied to turn out, though he looked like a ghost, and could scarcely stand; but I solemnly swore, that I would blow out the first man's brains who dared *disrespectfully* to touch me: in consequence of which I was close guarded by a sentinel; while the whole camp, upon my soul, now seemed to be composed of none but madmen.

‘ On the 11th, intelligence arrived that the rebels had burnt to ashes the dwelling-house of the estate Killestyn Nova, with Mr. Slighter the overseer *in it*, ransacked the whole plantation, killed and carried off 33 women, and chopped off the

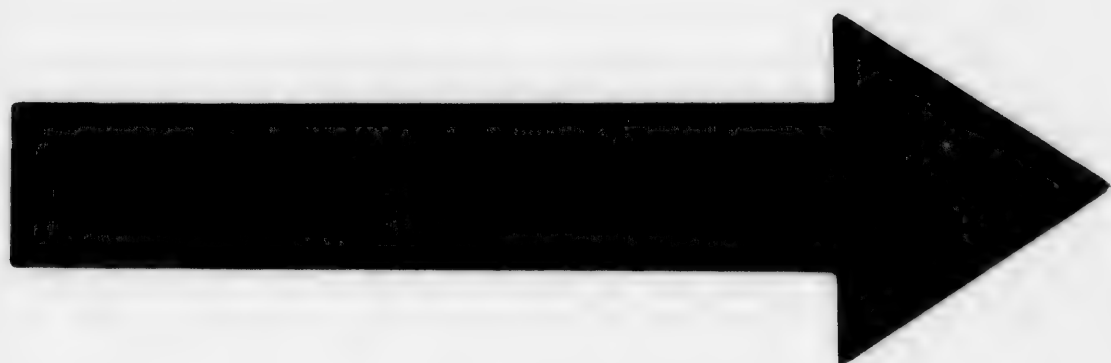
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limb of a male mulatto child, to be revenged of its father; and that the Pirica rangers were in pursuit of them.

'About this time, after having starved four months, my remaining stores arrived at last from Mocha, but three-fourths rotted and destroyed by the blata or cockroaches: the remaining part I distributed among the sick people. But what proved truly acceptable, was the cheering account that Joanna and Johnny were past danger, and recovering at Paramaribo.—This intelligence indeed so elevated my spirits, that the next morning I reported myself fit for duty, though God knows I was not; and to this I was the more induced by the want of fresh air, of which I was perfectly debarred in my confinement, and stood so much in need.

'In eight days more, which was the 20th of December, being actually recovered of the wound in my foot, and Seyburgh of his phrenetic fever, another officer and I played him the following trick, for his bad usage. Having invited this gentleman, with his adjutant, and a few more, to see us act a farce by candle-light, we affected to quarrel, and beating out the candle, the door being well secured, laid on in the dark with such success upon a certain somebody's shoulders, that, calling out Murder! he leaped out at the window. Nothing ever gave me greater entertainment than to perceive his agility; but colonel Seyburgh declared he would never more be a spectator to our play.'

Orders now arrived from Fourgeoud, who was recovering, to break up the camp, and proceed to the Wana creek. After marching several days above the knees in mud, and amidst heavy rains, the troops reached the place of their destination. Here poor Stedman allows that his foot was healed, but adds, 'I had now extracted out of my right-arm two dreadful insects, which left behind them very deep ulcers. These are called in Surinam the bush-worms, and are the shape and size of the aurelia of the common butterfly, with a pointed tail and black head. They stuck extremely fast in the flesh, and were extracted with a lancet. They breed naturally in stagnated waters, in marching constantly through which they had attached themselves to my flesh.



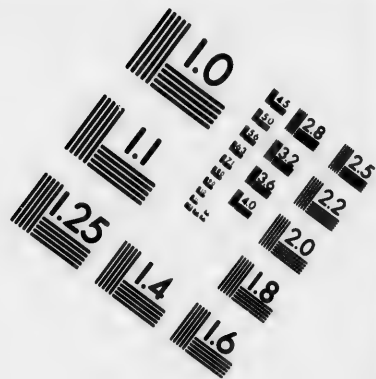
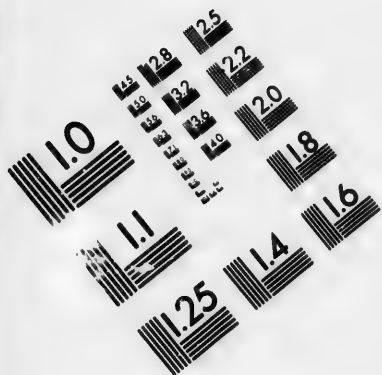
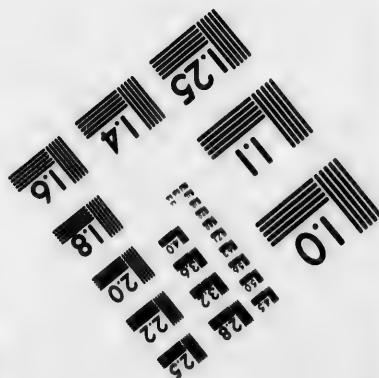
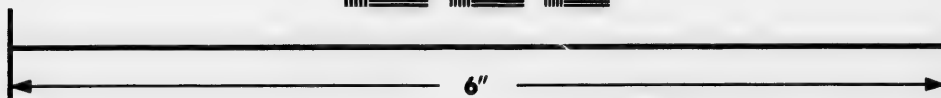
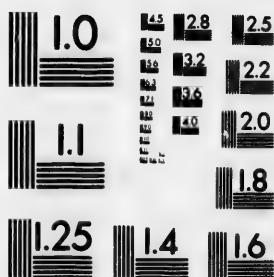


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‘ My heart now began to sink with accumulated disasters ; my mind was agitated and depressed with a constant train of tortures, to which I could see no end, and I became weary of life. In this dreadful situation I fell upon my naked knees, and invoked the malediction of Heaven to fall on me, if I did not separate myself from my present commanders and this service, the first honourable opportunity that should offer itself.

‘ The place of our present encampment was now intolerable beyond every description, being constantly overflowed, so that the ammunition and provisions were stowed for preservation on wooden rafts; nor could we step out of our hammocks without being up to the knees in mud and water, where it was most shallow, while the gnats and other insects devoured us alive. The consequence of all which was, that another barge full of dying wretches was sent down the Cormoetibo creek, bound for the hospital at Devil’s Harwar. This floating *charnel-house* weighed anchor on the last day of the year 1775.

‘ To what good star I was obliged, in the midst of all our confusion and distress, I know not, but certain it is, that colonel Seyburgh having sent for me on the first day of the new year, not only solicited my future friendship, but declared he was sorry for all the ill treatment he had ever occasioned me, for which he principally blamed Mr. Gibhart, his adjutant and spy; then taking me by the hand, as a proof of his real regard, permitted me from that moment to go to Paramaribo, or wherever I pleased, to refresh and refit until further orders; which had such an effect on me, that having instantly converted every drop of my rum into grog, we sat down, together with two other officers, and drowned all former animosity in oblivion, till we could hardly see one another. In this condition I took my leave that very evening of my *new* friend and the camp at Java creek, and rowed down in the best spirits for Paramaribo.

‘ On the evening of the 3d of January, 1776, at 6 o’clock, I arrived once more at Paramaribo, and found Joanna with her little boy perfectly well, after having both been blind for three weeks; with whom being now invited to lodge, at the

house of my friend Mr. De Graaf, I was completely happy. The following day I dined with colonel Fourgeoud, who now also was as sound as ever, and who gave me an *uncommonly* hearty welcome.

‘ The colonel, in a word, was now quite the reverse of what he had been before, and upon the whole so very agreeable in his manners, that I would never wish to spend my time in better company; but how I should become at once the favourite of both these rival commanders, was a secret I could never yet discover, unless it might proceed from a desire of gaining me from each other, as they still continued mutual enemies; be that as it may, I resolved to preserve the most inflexible neutrality, as I also did between them and the governor, with whom I was invited to dine the next day, and found as usual a truly magnificent entertainment.

‘ On the 20th, observing a number of Indians and black people of both sexes swimming at the back of fort Zealandia, young Donald Mac Neyl and myself completed the group, by stripping and getting in among them; and I must confess I never beheld more surprizing feats of activity in the water, than were performed by the negroes, who fought a *sham battle*, by plunging or rather tumbling like porpoises, when they struck each other with their legs, as they never used their hands; while the Indians, who were of the Arrowouka nation, swam and dived like amphibious animals. Being sufficiently refreshed, we sat down upon the beach, near the 21 gun battery, where I had opportunity of examining the features and figures of one of their young females, as she approached us, like Venus rising out of the sea. Her only dress consisted, both during the time she bathed and after, of a small square apron made of beads. In every other respect she was perfectly naked: nor could a finer figure be imagined—erect, vigorous, active, young, and healthy, which convinced me that when the body is exposed, as it certainly was ordained by nature, the face is but little noticed.

‘ On the 25th, I was seized with a fever, and blooded in the foot, in which the orifice being *struck* too deep, for struck

it was as they bleed the horses, I again became lame; during which time colonel Seyburgh arrived from the Java creek to recover, he being at last also taken very ill.

' In the mean time colonel Fourgeoud, while he was just ready to renew his operations, having already sent a small detachment to the Jew savannah for intelligence, received letters from the Hague, with express orders to abandon the expedition immediately, and with his few remaining troops to sail for Holland without delay.

' In consequence of these commands on the 27th, the transport ships were put in commission, and all the officers and privates received their clearance, which made them very happy; and indeed all at Paramaribo were alive with joy, except some of the inhabitants and myself.

' On the 14th of February, ill as I was with a bad foot, a sore arm, the prickly heat, and all my teeth loose with the scurvy, I found means to scramble out on crutches, with 1,000 florins in my pocket, which having divided between Fourgeoud and Mrs. Godefroy for the redemption of the black boy Quaco, and my mulatto, I returned home without a shilling in my purse; yet for this small sum of 500 florins, so inadequate to 1,800 which I owed that lady, she was induced generously to renew her persuasions of carrying Joanna and the boy with me to Holland. This, however, Joanna as nobly as firmly refused, declaring, "that, independant of all other considerations, she could never think of sacrificing one benefactor to the interest of another; and that her own happiness or even mine, which was dearer to her than life, should never have any weight, till the debt of her liberty was paid by me, or by her own industry, to the utmost fraction, and which she did not despair to see one day completed." She added, "our separation should only be for a time, and that the greatest proof I could ever shew her of my real esteem, was now to undergo this little trial of fortune like a man, without so much as heaving a sigh in her presence;" which last she spoke with a smile, next embraced her infant, then turned suddenly round, and wept most bitterly.—At this moment I was called to Mr.

de la Mare's, who was just dead, where my melancholy having surpassed all description, I at last determined to weather one or two painful years in her absence.

‘ On the 15th, by letters from Holland to our chief, our return was again countermanded for six months. My companions were therefore suddenly cast down with disappointment, while I was suddenly revived, and now determined to save all my pay until Joanna's redemption should be fully accomplished: but what grieved me very much was the other news from Europe, viz. that the Scots Brigade had been invited to England by his Britannic majesty, while I was lamenting that I could not possibly be one of the number, (the king's demand was negatived by the States of Holland). I at the same time had the offer of an American company under general Washington, but this I refused without any hesitation, as may be supposed.

‘ In short, on the 18th of February, the poor dispirited men were again sent up to Magdenberg, a large party still remaining at the Java creek; whilst the temper of the officers was now so ruffled, that a Mr. Fisher of our corps fought no less than two duels in two succeeding days, dangerously wounding both his antagonists, who were both officers of the Society regiment.

‘ On the 27th, a Society soldier was shot for mutiny; and the day following a ship was burnt in the roads. This being the period for the sessions, another negro's leg was cut off for skulking from a task to which he was unequal; while two more were condemned to be hanged for running away altogether. The heroic behaviour of one of these men before the court deserves particularly to be noticed:—He begged only to be heard for a few moments; which being granted, he proceeded thus:

‘ “ I was born in Africa, where, defending my prince during an engagement, I was made a captive, and sold for a slave on the coast of Guinea by *my own* countrymen.—One of your countrymen, who is now to be one of my judges, became my purchaser, in whose service I was treated so cruelly by his overseer, that I deserted, and joined the rebels in the woods.

Here again I was condemned to be a slave to Bonny, their chief, who treated me with even more severity than I had experienced from the Europeans, till I was once more forced to elope, determined to shun mankind for ever, and inoffensively to end my days by myself in the forest. Two years had I persevered in this manner quite alone, undergoing the greatest hardships and anxiety of mind, preserving life only for the possibility of once more seeing my dear family, who were perhaps starving on my account, in my own country; I say two miserable years had just elapsed, when I was discovered by the rangers, taken, and brought before this tribunal, who are now acquainted with the history of my wretched life, and from whom the favour I have to ask is, that I may be executed next Saturday, or as soon as it may possibly be convenient."

' This speech was uttered with the utmost moderation, by one of the finest-looking negroes that was perhaps ever seen; to which his former master, who, as he observed, was now one of the judges, made the following laconic reply—"Rascal! that is not what we want to know; but the torture this moment shall make you confess crimes as black as yourself, as well as those of your hateful accomplices." To which the negro, who now swelled in every vein with indignation and ineffable contempt: "Massera, the tigers have trembled for these hands, (holding them up,) and dare you think to threaten me with your wretched instrument? No, I despise the utmost tortures you can now invent, as much as I do the pitiful wretch who is going to inflict them." Saying which, he threw himself down on the rack, where amidst the most excruciating torments he remained with a smile, without uttering a syllable; nor did he ever speak again, until he ended his unhappy days at the gallows.

' At this time colonel Fourgeoud and myself were daily visitors of the ladies, in whose company no man could behave better, while I could often not avoid disgust; indeed so languid were many in their looks, and so unrestrained were some in their conversation, that a Mrs. N—— even asked me, *sans ceremonie*, to supply the place of her husband; while she

might as well as have asked me to drink, for a relish, a tumbler of salts.

‘ Having on the 26th once more saved a poor black girl from receiving some hundred lashes, by replacing a dozen of china, which she had broken by accident ; while another was stabbed by a Frenchman, who immediately cut his own throat from remorse, and his companion, an overseer, hanged himself ; and having visited the poor negro whose leg had lately been cut off by law, I packed my boxes to set out next morning on my *sixth* campaign ; and once more take the command of the river Comewina : at which moment arrived at my lodgings six loaded negro slaves with presents from my hospitable friends, of every kind that Guiana could produce, and the colony of Surinam could afford me.

‘ Late on the evening of the 29th, we arrived at the Goldmine plantation, where we found a negro boy and girl suspended by each others side from a high beam, by a rope fastened to their thumbs, which were tied behind their backs ; this almost dislocated their shoulders, and must have occasioned the most agonizing tortures. Thus I cut the miserable victims down, without leave or ceremony, and swore that instant to demolish the tyrannical overseer who had inflicted this new mode of punishment, unless he promised immediately to forgive them ; which he miraculously did in my presence.

‘ On the 30th, a little before we landed at the Hope, I discovered that all my sugar, with the greatest part of my rum, was gone ; and detected the thief by the following laughable stratagem (though not of my own invention)—I told the negroes, six in number, that a parrot’s feather was to grow within six minutes upon the tip of his nose who was most guilty ; at the same time pronouncing a few incoherent words, and making two or three circles with my sabre, I shut myself within the tilt : here, peeping through the key-hole, and observing the rowers with great attention, without their perceiving me, I soon saw one of them, at every stroke of the oar, put up his hand, and feel the tip of his nose ; upon which I instantly ran up to him, and cried, “ I see the parrot’s feather ! Thou art the thief, thou rascal ! ” To which the poor

superstitious fellow instantly answered, "*Yaw, me massera!*" then kneeling to the *sorcerer* for mercy, and the others also intreating me to spare him, I pardoned the credulous thief and his accomplices, who by their candid confession obtained a piece of salt beef for their dinner, and a gourd full of good grog into the bargain.'

Stedman found the Hope had been much neglected, and the troops in great misery; but his indefatigable exertions soon lessened the evils they suffered. Shortly after, Fourgeoud intending to scour the woods again, all the men fit for service were dispatched from the Hope to head-quarters, and only 12 crippled soldiers were left at this post. At this time a severe rencounter took place between the rebels and the rangers, during which, the following surprizing instance of presence of mind in a rebel negro is related:

A ranger having levelled his piece was just going to fire at him, when the man called out, holding up his hand, "What, sir, do you mean to kill one of your own party?" Which the ranger believing him to be, replied, "God forbid!" and dropping the muzzle of his piece, instantly received a ball through the body from his adversary, which killed him; and who, having thus saved himself, disappeared like a flash of lightning. One of the captive negroes related, that the evening before they were taken, a rebel, who had formerly deserted from Fauconberg was cut to pieces with sabres, by Bonny's command, as two others had been before Gado-Saby was taken.

'On the 8th of May,' says our author, 'Joanna, with her boy, arriving at this place, I promised myself a scene of happiness equal to that I experienced in 1774; especially as my family, my sheep, and my poultry, were now doubled; besides, I had at this time a beautiful garden, and if I could not with propriety be called a planter, I might at least claim, with some degree of justice, the name of a little farmer.'

'The slaves of the Hope and Fauconberg also testified their respects for Joanna and her boy, by bringing in presents of fowls, fruit, eggs, venison, and fish. Thus every thing seemed to contribute to our felicity, which was however considerably allayed by the disagreeable news we received on the 18th,

informing me of the death of my dear friend, Mr. Walter Kennedy, shortly after his arrival in Holland; it was now also confirmed that the Dutch had refused the Scots Brigade to his Britannic majesty; which greatly surprized me, as I considered it as a claim not only from affinity, but also by treaty.

‘ To amuse my mind from these unpleasing subjects, I now paid a short visit to my French acquaintance Monsieur Cache-lieu, at his plantation Egmond. Here, amongst other company, I met with an Italian, a planter, called D’O——s, who had but one arm; with which, however, he took up a knife at table, and without the smallest provocation, as I sat next him, made a back thrust at me, to the astonishment of all who were present. Having fortunately parried the blow by beating up his elbow, which occasioned the point of his knife to pass over my shoulder, I started up, and was going to put him instantly to death; but this being prevented, I offered to fight him with one hand tied behind me, and with any instrument he chose, fist, bludgeon, sword, pistol, or even knife; this the cowardly assassin having refused, was kicked out of company, and sent home to his plantation called Hazard.

‘ So violent was this unhappy man’s disposition, that some little time before, he ordered a poor negro woman, who was advanced eight months in her pregnancy, to be flogged, until her intestines appeared, and that only for breaking a tumbler. One of his male slaves, trying to evade his severity, was shot dead on the spot; and there was not a slave belonging to his estate but was cut by the lash of his whip from the neck to the heel.

‘ Colonel Fourgeoud now sending a proper supply of men, with a surgeon and medicines, the Hope wore a more pleasing aspect, and health and content began to be visible in every countenance. It was now truly a charming habitation, being perfectly dry even in spring-tides, and washed by pleasing canals that let in the fresh-water every tide; while the hedges surrounding the fields and gardens were neatly cut, and produced fruit and vegetables of many species for our use. The houses and bridges were also all repaired, while the strictest adherence to cleanliness was recommended and enforced among

the men: by these means not one sick person out of fifty was now to be found, where sloth, stench, and disease had so lately spread their destructive influence, and to which the land and sea-scurvy had given the most fatal assistance.

‘But we soon experienced that no scene of perfect felicity can be lasting, for the dry season now suddenly setting in, disease and mortality once more began to rage among us, 10 or 12 men dying daily at the Java creek and Magdenberg, while those under my command at the Hope diminished hourly.

‘On the 4th of June, the spring-flood broke down my dams while we were drinking the king’s health, and laid the whole post under water, which created vast confusion; and in this distress the overseer Blenderman refused to lend me any assistance, which occasioned so violent a quarrel, that he was glad to take to his heels, and make his escape from the plantation. I shall never have done mentioning the insolence of these savage brutes, who mostly are the refuse of the earth, brought up in Germany, or elsewhere, under the cane of a corporal. “Well,” said one of these miscreants ironically to an old *free* negro, “don’t you believe that the monkies are a race of damn’d Christians, who have been thus transformed for shewing so much lenity to such as you?”—“No, sir,” replied the black man, “we do not think that the monkies are damn’d Christians; but I, and all of us, believe that many who call themselves Christians are a pack of damn’d monkies.”—Which pointed repartee afforded me infinite satisfaction.

‘On the 16th I was visited by a neighbouring gentleman, whom I conducted up my ladder; but he had no sooner entered my aerial dwelling, than he leapt down from the top to the ground, roaring like a madman with agony and pain, after which he instantly plunged his head into the river; but looking up, I soon discovered the cause of his distress to be an enormous nest of wild bees or *wassee-wassee*, in the thatch, directly above my head, as I stood within my door; when I immediately took to my heels as he had done, and ordered them to be demolished by my slaves without delay. A tar mop was now brought, and the devastation just going to commence, when an old negro stepped up, and offered to receive

any punishment I should decree if ever one of these bees should sting me in person. "Massera," said he, "they would have stung you long ere now had you been a stranger to them; but they being your tenants, that is gradually allowed to build upon your premises, they assuredly know both you and your's, and will never hurt either you or them." I instantly assented to the proposition, and tying the old black man to a tree, ordered my boy Quaco to ascend the ladder quite naked, which he did, and was not stung; I then ventured to follow, and I declare upon my honour, that even after shaking the nest, which made its inhabitants buz about my ears, not a single bee attempted to sting me. I next released the old negro, and rewarded him with a gallon of rum and five shillings for the discovery. This swarm of bees I since kept unhurt, as my body-guards, and they have made many overseers take a desperate leap for my amusement, as I generally sent them up my ladder upon some frivolous message, when I wished to punish them for injustice and cruelty, which was not seldom.

' On the 23d, I received positive orders to prepare and be ready on the 15th of July, to break up, with all the troops under my command, leave the river Comewina, and row down to Paramaribo, where the transport ships were put in commission to convey us back to Holland. This order I instantly read before the front to all my men, who received it with unbounded joy and three cheers—but I alone sighed bitterly.—Oh my Joanna! Oh my boy! who were at this time both dangerously ill, the one with a fever, the other with convulsions, so that neither were expected to survive. Add to this, that I ran a nail quite through my foot—thus was completely miserable.

' On the 14th, I removed my flag from the Hope to the barges; and in the evening took my last farewell of Joanna's relations on the Fauconberg estate; who, crowding round me, expressed their sorrow aloud at my departure, and with tears invoked the protection of Heaven for my safe and prosperous voyage.

' On the 15th, we finally left the Hope; and, on the 18th, the whole fleet, consisting of my own barges, together with

three from Magdenberg, and those from the river Cottica, arrived safe at anchor in the roads of Paramaribo, where three transports lay ready to receive us, on board of which vessels I immediately embarked all the troops that had come down under my command.'

Joanna and her boy having come down to Paramaribo, captain Stedman took his leave of this interesting woman and his boy, and the whole fleet, with the poor remains of Fourgeoud's regiment, prepared to sail. Just at this moment a ship entered the river with dispatches, inclosing an order for the troops immediately to *re-enter the woods*. On reading this order from the quarter-deck of each vessel, 'I never,' says our author, 'saw such dejection, disappointment, and despair, so strongly marked: while at this moment I, who but just before had been completely miserable, was now in turn the only one who was not depressed with sorrow.'

'In the midst of this gloomy scene, the men were ordered to give three cheers, which the marines on board one of the vessels absolutely refused to comply with: colonel Seyburgh, and unluckily myself, were in consequence ordered to compel them; which he undertook, with a cane in one hand, and a loaded pistol cocked in the other. Knowing his temper to be fiery and irascible, what did I not feel at this moment? I suddenly leapt into the boat that lay along-side, where, after haranguing those few that leaned over the gunwale, I promised the *ship's crew* 20 gallons of Holland's gin if *they* would only begin the melancholy chorus. Then mounting again the quarter-deck, I acquainted the colonel that all were *now* ready and willing to obey his commands; we then re-entered the boat, and in shoving off had the satisfaction to receive three hearty cheers from the sailors, in which joined a few marines, but with such languid looks and heavy hearts as cannot be described.'

The disembarkation of the wretched troops afforded great joy to the inhabitants, who viewed their departure with considerable regret and alarm. However, 9 officers, and above 160 privates, all sick and incurable, were embarked for Holland on the 1st of August. Stedman being ill of an ague had his

choice to accompany this party, but he refused the offer. On the 12th, the rebels attacked an estate and carried off all the black women, without committing any kind of cruelty. Upon this intelligence a party of rangers were sent in pursuit of them; and 700 negroes were employed to cut a path of circumvallation round the colony, which path was to be manned with military picquets to defend the estates from any farther invasion.

‘As an instance of the insolence of savages,’ says our narrator, ‘when perfectly independent, I must relate a conversation which passed between one of this description and myself at Paramaribo, where the troops were allowed some time to refresh themselves before they again retook the field:—Dining one day at captain Mac Neyl’s, who was now come to town from his estate, a captain of the Owca negroes, our supposed allies, came in to demand money from his lady; and being very importunate, I desired her in English to “give him a dram, and he would be gone;” which the fellow understanding, called me without the door, and lifting up his silver-headed cane, asked me, “If that house was my own? and if not, what business I had to interfere? I am,” said he, in a thundering voice, “captain *Fortune Dago-So*, and, if I had you in my country at Owca, I would make the very earth drink up your blood.” To which I replied, drawing my sword, “That my name was Stedman; and that if he dared to utter one insolent expression more, my weapon should find the shortest way through his body.” Upon which he snapped his fingers, and marched off, leaving me much displeased, and blaming Fourgeoud for shewing so much indulgence to such a set of banditti. In the evening, as I returned from dinner, I met the same black fellow again, who, stepping short up to me, said, “Massera, you are a man, a very brave fellow; won’t you now give some money to the Owca captain?” This I sternly refused; he then kissed my hand, and shewed his teeth (he said) in token of reconciliation, promising to send me a present of pistachio nuts, which never did arrive, nor indeed should I have tasted, even had they been sent.

‘Barbarities still continued in a shocking degree in the metropolis; where my ears were deafened with the clang of the whip, and the shrieks of the negroes. Among the most eminent of these tyrants was a Miss Sp—n, who lived next door to Mr. de Graav, and who I saw with horror from my window give orders that a young black woman should be flogged principally across the breasts, at which she seemed to enjoy peculiar satisfaction. To dissipate the impression this scene had left on my mind, I got into a whiskey, and rode out; when the first thing I saw was a negro girl fall naked from a garret window on a heap of broken bottles: this was indeed an accident, but she was so mangled, though not dead, that she exhibited a spectacle nearly as wretched as the other.—Cursing my unlucky fate, I turned the horses, and drove to the beach, as the only place to avoid every scene of cruelty and misery; but here I had the mortification to see two Philadelphia sailors (while they were fighting on the fore-castle of their vessel) both fall over the ship’s bow into the stream, where they sunk, and were no more seen. On board another American brig, I discovered a little tar defending himself from the cross-trees with a hatchet, against a serjeant and four armed men, for a considerable time; till they threatening to shoot him out of the rigging, he at last surrendered, and being brought ashore, was dragged to fort Zelandia, in company with two others, by a file of musketeers, where, for having been drunk on duty, they received a *fire-cant* each, at the captain’s request; that is, they were bastinadoed or beaten on the shoulders by two corporals with bamboo canes, till their backs were black, and swelled like a cushion. However arbitrary this mode of correction, the captain endeavoured to explain the necessity of it; the private American sailors being of a turbulent spirit when drunk, although when sober they may be fairly classed among the best seamen in the world.

‘Early the next morning, while musing on all the different dangers and chastisements to which the lower class of people are exposed, I heard a crowd pass under my window. Curiosity made me start up, dress in a hurry, and follow them:

when I discovered three negroes in chains, surrounded by a guard, going to be executed in the savannah. Their undaunted look, however averse I may be to the sight of cruelties, so attracted my attention, as to determine me to see the result, which was thus:—The sentence being read in Low Dutch (which they did not understand) one was condemned to be flogged below the gallows, and his accomplice to have his head struck off with an axe, for having shot a slave who had come to steal plantains on the estate of his mistress. The truth however was, that this had been done by that lady's absolute command; but the murder being discovered, she, in the hopes of saving her character, besides the expence of paying the penalties, gave up her valuable slave, and permitted the unhappy man to be thus sacrificed. He laid his head upon the block with great indifference, stretching out his neck; when, with one blow of the axe, it was severed from his body.

‘The third negro, whose name was Neptune, was no slave, but his own master, and a carpenter by trade; he was young and handsome, but having killed the overseer of the estate Altona, in the Para creek, in consequence of some dispute, he justly forfeited his life. The particulars, however, are worth relating:—This man having stolen a sheep, to entertain a favourite young woman, the overseer, who burnt with jealousy, had determined to see him hanged; to prevent which, the negro shot him dead among the sugar-canes; for these offences of course he was sentenced to be broken alive upon the rack, without the benefit of a *coup-de-grace* or mercy-stroke. Informed of the dreadful sentence, he composedly laid himself down on his back on a strong cross, on which, with arms and legs expanded, he was fastened by ropes: the executioner, also a black man, having now with a hatchet chopped off his left hand, next took up a heavy iron bar, with which, by repeated blows, he broke his bones to shivers, till the marrow, blood, and splinters flew about the field; but the prisoner never uttered a groan nor a sigh. The ropes being next unlashed, I imagined him dead, and felt happy; till the magistrates stirring to depart, he writhed himself from the cross, when he fell on the grass, and damned them all, as a set of

barbarous rascals; at the same time removing his right-hand by the help of his teeth, he rested his head on part of the timber, and asked the by-standers for a pipe of tobacco, which was infamously answered by kicking and spitting on him; till I, with some American seamen, thought proper to prevent it. He then begged that his head might be chopped off; but to no purpose. At last, seeing no end to his misery, he declared, "that though he had deserved death, he had not expected to die so many deaths: however, (said he) you christians have missed your aim at last, and I now care not, were I to remain thus one month longer." After which he sung two extempore songs (with a clear voice) the subjects of which were, to bid adieu to his living friends, and to acquaint his deceased relations that in a very little time he should be with them, to enjoy their company for ever in a better place. This done, he calmly entered into conversation with some gentlemen concerning his trial; relating every particular with uncommon tranquillity—"But," said he abruptly, "by the sun it must be eight o'clock; and by any longer discourse I should be sorry to be the cause of your losing your breakfast." Then, casting his eyes on a Jew, whose name was De Vries, "A-propos, sir," said he, "won't you please to pay me the 10 shillings you owe me?"—"For what to do?"—"To buy meat and drink, to be sure—don't you perceive I am to be kept alive?" Which speech, on seeing the Jew stare like a fool, this mangled wretch accompanied with a loud and hearty laugh. Next, observing the soldier that stood sentinel over him biting occasionally on a piece of dry bread, he asked him "how it came to pass, that he a white man, should have no meat to eat along with it?"—"Because I am not so rich," answered the soldier.—"Then I will make you a present, sir," said the negro; "first, pick my hand that was chopped off clean to the bones, next begin to devour my body, till you are glutted; when you will have both bread and meat, as best becomes you;"—which piece of humour was followed by a second laugh; and thus he continued, until I left him, which was about three hours after the dreadful execution.

‘ Wonderful it is indeed, that human nature should be able to endure so much torture, which assuredly could only be supported by a mixture of rage, contempt, pride, and the glory of braving his tormentors, from whom he was so soon to escape.

‘ I must now relate an accident, which, as it had a momentary effect on my imagination, might have had a lasting one on some who had not investigated the real cause of it, and which it gave me no small satisfaction to discover. About three in the afternoon, walking towards the place of execution, with my thoughts full of the the affecting scene, and the image of the sufferer fresh in my mind, the first object I saw was his head at some distance, placed on a stake, nodding to me backwards and forwards, as if he had really been alive. I instantly stopped short, and seeing no person in the savannah, nor a breath of wind sufficient to move a leaf or a feather, I acknowledge that I was rivetted to the ground, where I stood without having the resolution of advancing one step for some time; till reflecting that I must be weak indeed not to approach this dead skull, and find out the wonderful phænomenon, if possible, I boldly walked up, and instantly discovered the natural cause, by the return of a vulture to the gallows, who perched upon it, as if he meant to dispute with me for this feast of carrion; which bird, having already picked out one of the eyes, had fled at my first approach, and striking the skull with his talons, as he took his sudden flight, occasioned the motion already described. I shall now only add, that this poor wretch, after living near six hours, had been knocked on the head by the commiserating sentinel, the marks of whose musket were perfectly visible by a large open fracture in the skull.

‘ The 24th, being the prince of Orange’s birth-day, the whole corps of officers were entertained with salt beef, salt pork, barley puddings, and hard pease, by colonel Fourgeoud. And this day (poor Joanna being inflexible in her resolutions) I ratified the agreement with the good Mrs. Godefroy, in presence of her mother and other relations, whereby the above lady bound herself “ never to part with her, except to myself

alone, as long as she lived; and that upon her death, not only her full liberty, but a spot of ground for her cultivation, besides a neat house built upon it, should be her portion for ever, to dispose of as she pleased." After this she returned my remaining bond of 900 florins, and gave Joanna a purse with gold containing near 20 ducats, besides a couple of pieces of East India chintz, advising me at the same time "to give in a request to the court for little Johnny's immediate manumission; which," she observed, "was a necessary form, whether I should be able to obtain the bail usually required or not; and without which formality, even if I had the bail ready to appear, nothing would be done in the course of business."

"Having both of us thanked this most excellent woman, I went to sup with the governor, where being transported with joy, I gave him my request in full form, which he coolly put in his pocket with one hand, while he gave me a hearty squeeze with the other; and shaking his head told me frankly, "that he would lay it before the court; but at the same time was perfectly convinced my boy must die a slave, unless I could find the necessary bail, which he was at the same time well persuaded very few people would wish to appear for." Thus, after spending so much time and labour, besides the expence of above 100 guineas already paid, I had still the inexpressible mortification to see this dear little fellow, of whom I was both the father and the master, exposed to perhaps eternal servitude; as for Joanna, she was now perfectly safe, to my heartfelt satisfaction.

"On the 25th, the governor gave a very sumptuous feast to several of his friends, of which I had the honour of being one of the party. Dinner being over, I now departed in his excellency's coach to the water-side, where a tent-barge and eight oars lay in waiting to row me down to the estate Catwyk, in the river Comewina, whither I was invited by Mr. Goetzee, a Dutch naval officer, who was the proprietor of this beautiful country-seat. In this charming situation, no amusements were wanting. There were carriages, saddle-horses, sail-boats, billiard-tables, &c. all ready for immediate use. But what em-

bittered the pleasure was, the inhuman disposition of Mr. Goetzee's lady, who flogged her negro slaves for every little trifle. For instance, one of the foot-boys, called Jacky, not having rinsed the glasses according to her mind, she ordered him to be whipped the next morning; but the unhappy youth soon put himself beyond the reach of her resentment; for, having taken farewell of the other negroes on the estate, he went up stairs, laid himself down upon his master's own bed, where, placing the muzzle of a loaded fowling-piece in his mouth, by the help of his toe he drew the trigger, and put an end to his existence. A couple of stout negroes were now sent up to see what was the matter; who, finding the bed all over bespattered with blood and brains, got orders to throw the body out of the window to the dogs, while the master and mistress were so very much alarmed, that they never got the better of it, [these unhappy people were poisoned by their slaves about six years after this happened]; nor would any person consent to lie in the apartment, till I chose it in preference to any other, being assuredly the most pleasant room, and the very best bed, in the house. What added much to the alarm of the family, was the circumstance of a favourite child lying fast asleep in the same apartment where this shocking catastrophe happened.

'I had not been fourteen days on this plantation, when a female mulatto slave, called Yettee, for having jocosely said "her mistress had some debt as well as herself," was stripped stark naked, and in a very indecent as well as inhuman manner flogged by two stout negroes before the dwelling-house door (while both her feet were locked to a very heavy iron bolt) until hardly any skin was left on her thighs or sides.—Five days after this I had the good fortune, however, to get her relieved from the iron bolt, which was locked across her shins: but a Mrs. Van Eys, alledging she had affronted her also by her saucy looks, prevailed on Mrs. Goetzee to renew the punishment the same week; when she was actually so cruelly beaten, that I expected she could not have survived it.

'Disgusted with this barbarity, I left the estate Catwyk, determined never more to return to it: but I still accompany-

ing Mr. Goetzee to visit some of his other plantations from curiosity, in Cottica and Pirica rivers, at one of these, called the Alia, a new-born female infant was presented me by way of compliment, to give it a name, which I called Charlotte. But the next morning, during breakfast, seven negroes were here again tied up and flogged, some with a cow-skin, which is very terrible.—Hence I made my retreat to the estate Sgraven-Hague, and there, meeting a mulatto youth in chains, whose name was Douglas, I with horror recollected his unhappy father, who had been obliged to leave him a slave, and was now dead. Heartily tired of my excursion, I was now glad to make haste back to Paramaribo; where, as soon as I arrived, the first news I heard was that colonel Fourgeoud's French valet-de-chambre, poor Monsieur Laurant, had actually been buried before he was quite dead;—and that, for having been found drunk in an ale-house, no less than thirteen of our men had most severely run the gauntlet, and as many been terribly bastinadoed, the greatest number of which no more saw Europe;—also, that a Quaderoon youth, and a Dutch sailor were found murdered on the beach. I was now proceeding to take a walk on the plain or esplanade, but here I was called in by Mr. St—k—r, who conducting me three stories high: "From this window," said he, "a few days since, leaped one of my black boys, to escape a gentle flogging; however, having only fainted in consequence of his fall, we soon brought him to life again by a hearty scouring on the ribs, so he did not escape; after which, for having risked himself, that is to say his master's property, and frightened my wife, she ordered him to be sent to fort Zelandia, where he received the interest, that is a most confounded *spanso-bocko*."

'The punishment called *spanso-bocko* is extremely severe indeed, and is executed in the following manner:—The prisoner's hands being lashed together, he is laid down on the ground on one side, with his knees thrust between his arms, and these confined by a strong stake, which separates them from his wrists, and is driven perpendicularly into the ground, insomuch that he can no more stir than if he was dead. In this locked position, trussed like a fowl, he is beaten on one

side of his breech by a strong negro, with a handful of knotty tamarind branches, till the very flesh is cut away; he is then turned over on the other side, where the same dreadful flagellation is inflicted, till not a bit of skin is left, and the place of execution is dyed with blood: after which the raw lacerated wound is immediately washed with lemon-juice and gun-powder to prevent mortification, and then he is sent home to recover as well as he can.

‘The above cruel and indecent punishment is sometimes repeated at every street in the town of Paramaribo, to men and women indiscriminately, which is a severity absolutely beyond conception; however, it is never thus inflicted without a condemnation from the court. But a single spanso-bocko, without regard to age or sex, as I have just mentioned, may be ordered by any proprietor, either at home, or by sending the victim to the fortress, with a note to the public executioner, to whom some trifle in money is paid as a fee of office.

‘I next was addressed by a Monsieur Rochetaux, whose Coromantyn cook, having spoiled his *ragout*, had just cut his own throat to prevent a whipping; and Mr. Charles Reynsdorp’s lately did the same.

‘After these facts, can it be a matter of surprize, that the negro slaves rise up in rebellion against masters who treat them with so very much severity?

‘I have already stated, that I gave in a hopeless request to the governor for my boy’s emancipation; and on the 8th of October I saw with equal joy and surprize the following advertisement posted up, “That if any one could give in a lawful objection why John Stedman, a quaderoon infant, the son of captain Stedman, should not be presented with the blessing of freedom, such person or persons to appear before January 1, 1777.”—I no sooner read it, than I ran with the good news to my good friend Mr. Palmer, who assured me, “that the above was no more than a form, put in practice on the supposition of my producing the bail required, which undoubtedly they expected, from my having so boldly given in my request to the governor of the colony.”—Without being able to utter one syllable in reply, I retired to the company of Joanna,

who, with a smile, bid me "never to despair, that Johnny certainly one day would be free;" nor did she ever fail in giving me some consolation, however desperate were my expectations.'

At this time the troops were new clothed (the first they had since 1772), and then marched again into the upper parts of the Cottica river. Captain Stedman, who now acted as major, also set out on his *seventh* campaign, in defence of the *lawful* inhabitants of this colony.

While encamped at the Casseepore creek, a marine, going to bathe in the river, was snapt away by a large alligator, and Stedman nearly lost his life in diving to attempt the recovery of the poor fellow. He was afterwards sent with a party in pursuit of the rebels, and after a distressing march during the dry season, he came to Gado-Saby, the demolished settlement of a party of rebels. 'While sitting down,' says he, 'to rest from our fatigue, a tall old rebel negro appeared suddenly in the very midst of us, with a long white beard, a white cotton sheet tied about his shoulders, and a broken cutlass in his hand. Seeing this venerable apparition, I instantly started up, and forbidding my people to fire at him, I civilly desired him to approach me, pledging myself that no person under my command should dare to hurt him; but that he should have every thing for his relief that I could afford.—He answered, "No, no, massera!" with the utmost deliberation, and shaking his head in an instant disappeared; while two of my men (contrary to my orders) fired after him, at the distance of perhaps six paces only, yet both missed their object, to my great satisfaction, he being a poor forsaken creature, that had been left behind the rest, gleanng a precarious subsistence from his own deserted fields which we had formerly destroyed. What renders the negroes so difficult to hit with a ball is this, that they never run straight forward, but zig-zag, like the forked lightning in the elements.'

Having ransacked and destroyed the remaining parts of the rebel settlement, Stedman returned to the *grand camp*, his party being much fatigued and emaciated, and he himself with a swelled face or erysipelas. At this time the long expected

relief, consisting of 850 men, arrived from Holland: but, as our adventurer heard they were still to continue for some time in the woods, he built himself a curious hut, its only entry being by the roof. By this contrivance he effectually excluded the visits of many of these disagreeable animals that abound in these woods.

When the fresh troops arrived at the camp, captain Stedman circulated his wine to give a hearty welcome to all the officers, to cheer their spirits; 'but this ill-fated liquor,' says he, 'had an effect far different from what I intended on one of our captains, P——t by name, who, from some misunderstanding, challenged me to fight him instantly. Having retired to some distance from the camp, and drawing our sabres, he burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter, and throwing away his weapon desired me, "to cut away; but that for his part he had such a real regard for me, that he felt it was impossible for him to make any resistance;" after which, catching me in both his arms, he gave me so hearty an embrace, that he had nearly stifled me, and I could not without the greatest difficulty get disentangled. Being recovered from my surprise, I could not help smiling in my turn; and after a friendly reprimand re-conducted my valiant opponent to the company, where we closed the year with the greatest mirth and conviviality.'

On the 3d of January, 1777, another party of the new troops came up the river from Paramaribo. 'Amongst these,' says our author, 'being informed there was a captain Charles Small come from the Scots brigade, this gentleman having exchanged with poor ensign Macdonald (who was sent over sick), I instantly sculled down the river alone in a canoe to meet him, and offer him my assistance. I had no sooner got on board his barge, than I found him suspended in a hammock with a burning fever. He, not knowing me on account of my dress, which was no better than that of the most ragged sailor, asked me what I wanted; but when he saw in me his poor friend Stedman, changed from a stout sprightly young fellow, to a miserable debilitated tatterdemallion, he grasped me by the hand, without uttering a word, and burst into

tears: which agitation, while it increased his illness, shewed the goodness of his heart to me, more than any thing he could have uttered on the subject.—“ D—n your blubbering, Charles !” said I, “ turn out of this stinking cockle-shell : I’ll presently cure thee ;—and getting him hoisted into my canoe, I brought him on shore to my own habitation, but with the greatest difficulty, being obliged to thrust him through a crevice made on purpose, as the hole in the roof was not calculated even for any healthy person’s admittance, myself excepted. Having here slung his hammock near to my own, and boiled some water, I treated him with warm grog and a toasted biscuit, and he became much better from that very moment. He now acquainted me that one of his men was drowned on the passage ; and that colonel Fourgeoud having entertained the officers with a ball after their landing, at which one of his cooks, and a couple of meagre marines, had been the fidlers, he concluded his illness to be the consequence of too much dancing. A little after this, colonel Fourgeoud himself appearing in person in the camp amongst us, he soon, however, entertained us with music of a different kind ; which was no less than the discouraging news, that by the new-arrived corps of officers several of us had lost our rank (both in the regiment and in the army) after parching above four years in a burning sun, toiling ourselves almost to death, and subsisting upon stinking meat and black rusk. To add to this grievance, while the above gentlemen usurped our preferment, we were, instead of being relieved, ordered to continue in the woods, in order to teach them their duty.

‘ During the above displeasing probation, the major’s duty again fell to my share ; which was at this time extremely disagreeable, being obliged daily to chastise the men, many of whom pilfered the magazine to alleviate hunger, having been without the article of bread for seven days, the oven being dropped to pieces. Amongst others, one poor fellow was nearly flogged to death for having *borrowed* one of the colonel’s Bologna sausages ; for, let it be remembered, that our commander-in-chief, whatever might be the distress and hardships of the rest, never forgot to support *his own* dignity, by

at least half a dozen of stout negroes loaded with bacon hams, Bologna sausages, bullocks tongues, tea, coffee, sugar, Madeira wine, Holland's gin, &c.

' At length, on the 8th, a barge arrived, not only with a supply of salt beef and rusk, but a bullock and two hogs, as a present from Mr. Felman, who, accompanied by his lady, &c. came actually on a visit to Fourgeoud, in this very strange encampment. The above animals being immediately killed, they were distributed among 400 people; so that it may well be conceived the shares, though sweet, were not very large, after which the company walked about to view our different habitations. Being arrived at my dwelling, Fourgeoud led them round and round, but seeing no door to get in, he called out, "Nobody at home?" When I instantly thrust my head through the thatch, with a pan-cake in my hand, and offered to haul in the ladies; but this they civilly declined. I never saw Fourgeoud laugh so much in my life. As soon, however, as he was able to recover his gravity, he exclaimed, "*Sacre Dieu! Il faut etre Stedman,—il faut etre original comme lui;*" and re-conducted the company to his own apartment, where he gave me an invitation to follow them. Indeed, when captain Small and I went out, we generally spent our time in a beautiful savannah, where we had erected a green shed, to be free in conversation, and called it *Ranelagh*; here we caroused and cracked a bottle in private, till we could crack no longer, having lived so well that in a little time more than a week my cheese and bacon hams quite disappeared, and not a drop of wine or rum was left in the flasks.—After this he, as well as I, were obliged to live on short allowance; while Small had the satisfaction, however, to see his ship-mates do the same: who, not being acquainted with the oeconomy necessary in a forest, had made all their flour into plum-pudding, and were already obliged to break their teeth on a piece of rye rusk.

' In short, so early as the 12th, 150 of these newly-arrived people were already ordered to march; when, by the way of seasoning them, besides heavy accoutrements and a hammock, they had orders each man to carry a stuffed knapsack on his

back. Of this party, my friend Small happened to be one, who being as corpulent as *Sir John Falstaff*, and I having accoutred him in the above manner, the poor fellow could hardly walk at all: till declaring to Fourgeoud that I must roll him along like a hogshead, he got leave to be disentangled from a part of his unweildy encumbrances.

‘ On the 23d, this party returned, after having destroyed another rebel settlement, which induced the rebels to retire into the French colony Cayenne. In this hard though necessary service the men had suffered severely, especially those newly arrived; numbers of whom were carried in hammocks on poles, while near thirty were left sick at the Marawina, and my friend Small was at least one stone lighter.

‘ At this time, in the camp hospital, above one hundred were also dangerously ill. Nothing was heard but sighs and the shrieking of the *strix* or Guiana owl, which for ever kept them company during the dismal nights. Cramps, so common in Surinam, also infested those that were able to do duty; and there reigned a general melancholy all around.

‘ Here one man was to be seen covered over with bloody boils from head to foot; there another led along by two of his comrades in a deep lethargy, who, in spite of pinching and pricking, dosed into eternity; a third, swelled by the dropsy, and imploring the surgeon in vain to tap off the water (who generally answered that it was too late) was left to expire by suffocation. In the hospital some were observed clapsing their hands, and praying aloud to God to be relieved; while others lay at their side in a frenzy fever, tearing their hair, blaspheming Providence, and cursing the day that they were born.—In short, all was dreadful beyond description.

‘ On the 26th *my* misery, however, drew towards an end, when, to my astonishment, and without my asking it, colonel Fourgeoud gave me a leave of absence, if I chose it, to accompany him, and stay henceforth at Paramaribo; which, without hesitation, I most joyfully accepted. Thus, having made my friend captain Small a present of my house, my Ranelagh, and all my *fresh provisions* (some which I received from town on the 23d), besides entertaining him and some other officers

on a dish of mountain-cabbage and groe-groe worms, and a hearty glass of wine, I took my last adieu from them all; and at midnight, with colonel Fourgeoud, rowed down the river Cottica in an elegant barge with ten oars, in company with two more of his officers.—And now farewell once more, ye shady woods, thou pleasing gloomy forest, pregnant with so many wonders, and so many plagues, and which, in the opinion of so many sufferers, even surpassed the *ten plagues of Egypt*!

‘The boat being shoved off, colonel Fourgeoud now declared to us, that having ransacked the forest in every direction, and driven the rebels over the Marawina in Cayenne, he was determined no more to return to the woods, but in a few weeks to draw the long and painful expedition to a conclusion.

‘Now, reader, it remains with you to acknowledge that I have not led you *about the bush*, but *through it*, with indefatigable perseverance: the more so, when it is to be considered that in the middle of the above hurry and distress, under which so many have sunk, I have often been deprived of *pen, ink, and paper* to make proper annotations; which last defect I have even more than once supplied by writing with a pencil on my cartridges, or on a bleached *bone*: had this not been unavoidably the case, more accuracy and many more remarks might with justice have been expected, which one need never be at a loss to make in a country so replete with different objects for speculation.

‘I prosecuted my voyage down the Cottica river till I came to Paramaribo, where I arrived in fine spirits and perfect health. I was most heartily welcomed by my friends with the warmest congratulations on my still existing, after so many dangers, and been so long deprived of every comfort—torn by thorns, stung by insects—starved, emaciated, and wounded—often without clothes, health, rest, money, refreshments, medicines, or friends;—and after having lost so many of my brave companions, who lay buried in the dust.—Thus ended my seventh and *last* campaign in the forest of Guiana.

‘Being invited to dine with his excellency the governor, I laid before him my collection of drawings, and remarks on the

the colony of Surinam, which I had the satisfaction to see him honour with the highest approbation. I then returned him my thanks, not only for the material assistance he had afforded me in completing this work, but for the unlimited marks of regard and distinction with which he had treated me from first to last, during the whole time I resided in Guiana.

‘Availing myself of his friendship, I ventured, two days after, to give him the following very uncommon *request*, praying him to lay it before the court; which, with a smile on his countenance, and a hearty shake by the hand, he actually promised me to perform; viz.

“I, the under-subscribed, do pledge my *word of honour*, (being all I possess in the world besides my pay) as *bail*, that if my late ardent request to the court for the emancipation of my dear boy Johnny Stedman be granted, the said boy shall never to the end of his life become a charge to the colony of Surinam.

(Signed)

“JOHN G. STEDMAN.”

“Paramaribo,

“Feb. 18th, 1777.”

‘Having now done the utmost that lay in *my* power, I for several days waited the result with anxiety, but without meeting with the smallest hopes of success; thus, with a broken heart, I was obliged at last to give him (sweet fellow) over for lost, or take him with me to Europe, which must have been plunging a dagger in the bosom of his mother.

‘The 8th of March, being the prince of Orange’s birth-day, it was celebrated at the head-quarters; where, after dinner, in the court lodge, hearing captain Bolts in an undeserved manner censured by the colonel’s adjutant, for recommending one of the young volunteers of an excellent character, but who had no friends to support him, (a Mr. Sheffer, already mentioned, who had served with honour from first to last, on the pay of private soldier, during this painful expedition) I broke through the ring that surrounded them in a passion, and not being able to restrain myself, publicly reprov’d the aggressor, even in Fourgeoud’s presence, when a furious altercation and very high words immediately ensued; the consequence of which

was, that next morning at sun-rise *we* walked to the savannah without seconds, where, near the gallows, we drew our small swords, and after making a few passes at each other, captain Van Geurick's point met my shell, which having nearly pierced, his blade snapped in two pieces, and the fortune of war put him entirely in my power. Disdaining, however, to take a mean advantage, I instantly dropped my small sword, and desired him to step home and replace his own, in order to renew the battle: but this proposal he was pleased to call so generous, that taking me by the hand, he requested a renewal of friendship; thus acknowledging we had been too hasty on both sides, we went to visit poor Bolt, who knew nothing of our morning's walk, and was (though not without difficulty) persuaded also to enter into the amicable treaty: by which a second rencounter was happily prevented, and a general reconciliation took place.

‘On the 12th, I was shocked and surprized beyond the power of expression, at seeing a Miss Jettée de la Mare, daughter to the lately deceased gentleman of that name, a lovely mulatto girl, aged fourteen, who had been christened in 1774, and educated as a young lady, dragged to court in chains, with her mother and a few more of her relations, the whole surrounded by a military guard. I had almost attempted a rescue, when having enquired the cause, she called out to me herself, weeping most bitterly; and informed me, that “she was going to be tried by Mr. Schouten, her mother's master, for refusing to perform the work of a common slave, which she was utterly unable to perform, and could never have expected, from the footing upon which she had been educated till that unhappy moment.”

‘Such was the fatal consequences of not having been timely emancipated; and such were they indeed, that they made me tremble for my little boy. Happily my uneasiness was not of long duration; for, however improbable and unexpected, I was surprized on the very same day with a polite message from the governor and the court, acquainting me that, “having taken my former services into consideration, together with my humanity and gallantry, in offering my *honour* as bail to see

my child, before I left him, made a free citizen of the world; they had unanimously decreed, without farther ceremony or expence, to compliment me with a letter, which was at the same time officially presented to me, containing HIS EMANCIPATION FROM THAT DAY, FOR EVER AFTER.

‘ No man could be more suddenly transported from woe to happiness than I was at this moment; while his poor mother shed tears for joy and gratitude; the more so, as we had lost all hopes, and the favour came perfectly unexpected, and while near 40 boys and girls were left to perpetual slavery by their parents of my acquaintance, and many of them without being so much as once enquired after at all.

‘ What is most extraordinary indeed is, that while the well-thinking few highly applauded my sensibility, many not only blamed, but publicly derided me for my paternal affection, which was called a weakness, a whim. So extravagant was my joy on this day, however, at having acted the reverse part of *Inkle* to *Yarico*, that I became like one frantic with pleasure. I not only made my will in his favour (though, God knows, I had little to dispose of) but I appointed my friends Mr. Robert Gordon and Mr. James Gourlay to be my executors and his guardians during my absence.

‘ The day of our departure now approached fast, and I gave up my house; when, at Mrs. Godefroy’s pressing invitation, I spent the remaining moments in that which she had prepared for the reception of Joanna and her boy, in her beautiful garden, charmingly situated under the shade of tamarind and orange trees; which house she also had neatly furnished with every accommodation that could be desired, besides allowing Joanna a negro woman and a girl to attend on her for life. Thus situated, how blest should I have been in this spot to end my days!—But fate ordained it otherwise.

‘ On the 26th, we took our leave of his excellency the governor, *en corps*, as assuredly was his due; after which all the officers of the Society troops waited on colonel Fourgeoud, at the head-quarters, to wish us a prosperous voyage to Holland, and the day was spent by a regale, *en militaire*, viz. a dinner, as usual, of salt provisions; but I must acknowledge,

accompanied with as much good liquor of every kind, as Surinam could furnish, and a very hearty welcome.

‘ I believe that now a hundred times Fourgeoud shook me by the hand, declaring, “ That there was not a young man he loved better in the world ; that had he commanded me to march through fire as well as water, he was convinced I should never have left it, without accomplishing his orders ;” with many other fine compliments. But I must candidly acknowledge, that though I had a heart to forgive, my mind would never permit me to forget the many and unnecessary difficulties and miseries to which I had been too wantonly exposed.

‘ In the evening I went to take a last farewell of my most valuable acquaintances ; but my soul was too full of a *friend* that was still dearer, to be impressed with that sensibility on separating from them, that it must have felt on another occasion. And here I cannot in justice omit remarking, that while I gave the most impetuous vent to my feelings, not the small-expression of poignant sorrow, or even dejection, escaped from Joanna’s lips ; while her good sense and fortitude even restrained the tear from starting in my afflicted presence. I now once more earnestly pressed her to accompany me, in which I was seconded by the inestimable Mrs. Godefroy and all her friends ; but she remained equally inflexible, and her steady answer was as before—“ That, dreadful as appeared the fatal separation, perhaps never more to meet, yet she could not but prefer remaining in Surinam : first, from a consciousness that, with propriety, she had not the disposal of herself ; and, secondly, from pride, wishing in her present condition rather to be one of the first among her own class in America, than a reflection or burthen on me in Europe, as she was convinced must be the case, unless our circumstances became one day more independent.” Here Joanna shewed great emotion, but immediately retired to weep in private.—What could I say or do?—Not knowing how to answer, or sufficiently to admire her firmness and resignation, which so greatly exceeded my own, I determined, if possible, to imitate her conduct, and calmly to resign myself to my fate, preparing for the fatal mo-

ment, when my heart forbode me we were to pronounce the LAST ADIEU, and separate for ever.

‘ The whole corps being ordered, at seven o’clock on the morning of the 27th, to wait on colonel Fourgeoud at the headquarters, I tore myself away from all that was dear to me in this world without disturbing them, in order to prevent the tender scene of parting. We were immediately embarked, under a general salute, and colours flying, from the fortress and the vessels in the roads.

‘ On the 29th of March, at midnight, the signal-gun being fired, the two ships got under way, and dropped down till before the fortress New Amsterdam, where they once more came to an anchor.

‘ Here my friends Gordon and Gourlay, the guardians of my boy, after the convivial colonel Seyburg (for such he certainly was) had entertained them on board his vessel, the *Hollandia*, affectionately coming to visit me, they did no less than actually prevail on me to accompany them back to Paramaribo. My soul could not resist this second invitation of once more beholding what was so dear to me.—I went, and, must I say it?—found Joanna, who had displayed so much fortitude in my presence, now bathed in tears, and scarcely alive, so much was she become the victim of melancholy and despair. Nor had she partaken of food, or sleep, since my departure, nor spoken to any living creature, indeed not stirring from the spot where I had left her on the morning of the 27th.

‘ The ships not being quite ready to go to sea till two days after, I was prevailed upon to stay on shore a little longer, with poor Joanna and her boy, which seemed to cheer her : but, alas ! too dear we paid for this too short reprieve ! since, few hours had relapsed, when a sailor abruptly came in, with the message that the ship’s boat lay in waiting that minute to carry me on board.—At that instant—Heavens ! what were my feelings !—Joanna’s mother took the infant from her arms, the all-worthy Mrs. Godefroy supporting herself ——— her brothers and sisters hung around me, crying, and invoking

Heaven aloud for my safety—while the unfortunate Joanna (now but nineteen) gazing on me, and holding me by the hand, with a look ten thousand times more dejected than *Sterne's Maria*,—was unable to utter a word!!—I perceived she was distracted—the hour was come—I exchanged a ringlet of their hair, and fondly pressed them both to my bosom:—the power of speech also forsook me, and my heart tacitly invoked the protection of Providence to befriend them.—Joanna now shut her beauteous eyes—her lips turned the pale colour of death—she bowed her head, and motionless sunk into the arms of HER ADOPTED MOTHER:—Here I roused all my remaining fortitude, and leaving them surrounded by every care and attention, departed, and bid GOD BLESS THEM!!!

The vessel which captain Stedman finally embarked sailed on the 1st of April, 1777. Out of near 1,200 able-bodied men about 100 returned, but of these not 20 were in perfect health! After a sickly passage, the poor remains of this gallant corps were on the 3d of June put on board six lighters on the Dutch coast, which were appointed to transport them to Bois-le-Duc, in which town they were to be completed, and do the duty as part of the garrison. On leaving the vessels 'we were,' says our author, 'saluted with nine guns each; which having returned with three cheers, we set sail for the place above mentioned. As we passed in the lighters through the inland towns, such as Saardam, Haerlem, and Tergow, I thought them truly magnificent, particularly the glass painting in the great church of the latter; but their inhabitants, who crowded about us, from curiosity to see us, appeared but a disgusting assemblage of ill-formed and ill-dressed rabble, so much had my prejudices been changed by living among the Indians and blacks: their eyes seemed to resemble those of a pig; their complexions were like the colour of foul linen; they seemed to have no teeth, and to be covered over with rags and dirt. This prejudice, however, was not against these people only, but against all Europeans in general, when compared to the sparkling eyes, ivory teeth, shining skin, and remarkable cleanliness of those I had left behind me. But the most ludicrous circumstance was, that during all this we never once

considered the truly extraordinary figure that we made ourselves, being so much sun-burnt and so pale, that we were nearly the colour of dried parchment, by heat and fatigue; and so thin, that we looked like moving skeletons; to which I may add, that having lived so long in the woods, we had perfectly the appearance of wild people; and I in particular, very deservedly, obtained the characteristic title of *le savage Anglois*, or the English savage. In this state we arrived, on the 9th, at the town of Bois-le-Duc, where the troops were finally disembarked.

‘ Thus ended, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary expeditions that was ever undertaken by European troops; and to which only the exploits of the American buccaniers have any, and even that a very distant, resemblance.’

Captain Stedman now bade a lasting farewell to colonel Fourgeoud’s regiment, being transferred by the prince of Orange to general Stuart’s regiment, and shortly after raised to the rank of *major* in this Scottish corps. His faithful black boy Quaco he presented to the countess of Rosendaal, who not only christened him by the name of *Stedman*, but promoted him to be her butler. Colonel Fourgeoud had scarcely arrived in Holland when he died, and was buried at the Hague with military honours.

When the war broke out between the States of Holland and Great Britain, captain Stedman, with most of the principal officers in the Scots brigade, resigned. The very day he left the Dutch service, the prince of Orange complimented him with the rank of *lieutenant-colonel*. On the 18th of June, 1783, all these officers had the honour to kiss his majesty’s hand at St. James’s, and the same month were voted half-pay by the house of commons, according to the rank in which each individual had served while abroad.

‘ I must now,’ says this gallant and feeling soldier, ‘ draw this narrative to a conclusion, by once more mentioning the name of Joanna, and acquaint the reader, that, alas!——
JOANNA IS NO MORE!!!——’

‘ In the month of August, 1783, I received the melancholy tidings from Mr. Gourlay (which pierced me to the soul) that

on the fatal *fifth of November* this virtuous young woman departed this life, as some suspected by poison, administered by the hand of jealousy and envy, on account of her prosperity, and the marks of distinction which her superior merit had so justly attracted from the respectable part of the colony.

‘But she is no more!—Reader!—the virtuous Joanna, who so often saved my life, is no more!!!—Her adopted mother, Mrs. Godefroy, who bedewed her beauteous body with tears, ordered it to be interred with every mark of respect, under the grove of orange-trees where she had lived. Her lovely boy was sent to me, with a bill of near 200*l.*, his private property, by inheritance from his mother.—Soon after which expired both his very faithful guardians.

‘This CHARMING YOUTH, having made a most commendable progress in his education in Devon, went two West India voyages, with the highest character as a sailor; and during the Spanish troubles served with honour as a midshipman on board his majesty’s ships Southampton and Lizard, ever ready to engage in any service that the advantage of his king and country called for. But, oh!—he also is no more, having since perished off the island of Jamaica.’

NOTES
ON THE
WEST INDIES,
AND THE
COAST OF GUIANA.

By GEORGE PINCKARD, M. D.

THIS very amusing and instructive narrative was originally written for the private eye of a friend ; but has been received by the public with a peculiar though well merited esteem. The editor has preserved the epistolary form as conveying a more lively, correct, and faithful representation of the author's feelings, than any other that could be adopted ; he has also been careful to preserve every occurrence and observation of importance, and to relate it in the pleasing and amiable spirit of the original.

DR. PINCKARD was appointed one of the physicians attached to the staff of Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was invested with the command of the expedition destined for the West Indies in 1795. After waiting on the inspector-general at Southampton, the doctor was informed that his name was not upon the return of the Leeward island division, and that if it was upon the St. Domingo staff, he must proceed to join the expedition about to sail from Ireland. He therefore returned with Dr. Master to London, where they were ordered to proceed in the *Ulysses* armed transport to Cork. For this purpose, accompanied by Dr. Henderson, they proceeded to

Portsmouth to wait the arrival of the Ulysses from the Thames. After viewing the great objects which call forth the attention of the stranger in the *Wapping* of England, such as the ramparts, the dock-yard, the Haslar hospital, and the prisons, they lapsed into the dull round of the place, but our author's habit of correct observation continued in activity; and here we must begin to present our readers with some of his amusing remarks.

‘ *Portsmouth, Oct. 23d, 1795.*

‘ No tidings of the Ulysses! Four long days have passed away, since my arrival at this place, and I am still left in anxious uncertainty respecting my baggage, and my passage. The busy activity of this place occurs only at intervals, as when the fleet comes in, or is about to sail: at which periods the town becomes all crowd and hurry, for a few days, and then suddenly reverts to a languid intermission of dullness and inactivity.

‘ In respect to streets, houses, markets, and traffic, Portsmouth is not unlike other country towns, but Portsmouth-point, Portsea-common, and some other parts of the town have peculiarities which seem to sanction the celebrity the place has acquired. In some quarters, Portsmouth is not only filthy and crowded, but crowded with a class of low and abandoned beings, who seem to have declared open war against every habit of common decency and decorum. You know the strong desire I have to contemplate human nature, under all her varied forms, but those she here assumes, I am sorry to tell you, are uncommonly hideous and disgusting. The riotous, drunken, and immoral scenes of this place, perhaps, exceeds all others. Commonly gross obscenity and intoxication preserve enough of diffidence to seek the concealment of night, and, assuming a kind of decency, strive to hide themselves from the public eye: but, here, hordes of profligate females are seen reeling in drunkenness, or plying upon the streets in open day, with a broad immodesty which puts the great orb of noon to the blush. These daughters of Cypria are not only of manners peculiar, but likewise of such peculiar figure and

apparel, that it were perhaps difficult, in any other part of England, to find a correct resemblance of—"sweet Poll of Portsmouth."

To form to yourself an idea of these tender languishing nymphs—these lovely sighing ornaments of the fair-sex, imagine a something of more than Amazonian stature, having a crimson countenance, emblazoned with all the effrontery of Cyprian confidence, and Bacchanalian folly: give to her bold countenance the warlike features of two wounded cheeks, a tumid nose, scarred and battered brows, and a pair of blackened eyes, with balls of red; then add to her sides a pair of brawny arms, fit to encounter a Colossus, and set her upon two ancles like the fixed supporters of a gate. Afterwards, by way of apparel, put upon her a loose flying cap, a man's black hat, a torn neckerchief, stone rings on her fingers, and a dirty white, or tawdry flowered gown, with short apron, and a pink petticoat; and thus, will you have something very like the figure of a "*Portsmouth Poll*."

Callous to every sense of shame, these daring objects reel about the streets, lie in wait at the corners, or, like the devouring kite, hover over every landing-place, eager to pounce upon their prey; and each unhappy tar, who has the misfortune to fall under their talons, has no hope of escape till plucked of every feather. The instant he sets foot on dry land he is embraced by the neck, hugged round the waist, or hooked in the arm by one or more of these tender Dulcineas; and, thus, poor Jack with pockets full of prize-money, or rich with a long and dangerous cruize, is, instantly, dragged (though, it must be confessed, not always against his consent) to a bagnio, or some filthy pot-house, where he is kept drinking, smoking, singing, dancing, swearing, and rioting, amidst one continued scene of debauchery, all day and night, and all night and all day, until his every farthing is gone. He is, then, left to sleep till he is sober, and awakes to return, pennyless, to his ship—with much cause to think himself fortunate, if an empty purse be the worse consequence of his, long wished for, ramble ashore.

' *Portsmouth, October 28.*

' STILL at Portsmouth, and the *Ulysses* not yet come round from the Thames! Henderson and myself have received orders not to wait longer, but to repair, immediately, on board the Bridgewater transport, and proceed to Cork. Of this vessel we do not hear the most happy report. She is very old, and we cannot fancy her so safe as the *Ulysses*. We likewise hear that she is already much crowded with passengers, and that we have no prospect of obtaining even a tolerable berth on board. But as I before remarked to you, I am prepared for all I may have to encounter, and resolved to meet whatever happens *sans me plaindre*.

' Master has not received instructions to accompany us, and we lament the prospect of being so soon deprived of his society. But we have some hope that he may again join us at Cork. Possibly he may follow us in the *Ulysses*, and have the satisfaction of not being separated from his baggage.

' Some troops were embarked yesterday, from this place. The weather was rough and unfavourable. Such indeed has it constantly been since our arrival at Portsmouth,—always stormy, and at times, tempestuous. From this state of the weather we have had the opportunity of seeing this great maritime port to much advantage; a degree of grandeur being added to the scenery, which, in a more tranquil season, had not existed. The general movement and activity have been necessarily increased. We have heard the deep roaring of the billows, and have listened to the howling of the wind, and the beating of the storm among the shipping; the troubled waves have dashed in heavy seas upon the land, or broke with violence against the rampart-walls; boats and ships have been set adrift, others have been driven from their anchors and cast on shore; and that degree of the terrific, necessary to the sublime, has prevailed. But sublime and grand as it may have appeared, you will believe that, as we are soon to be placed at the mercy of the restless and turbulent waters, the ideas excited, by this scenery, have not been of the most happy nature.

' A sort of relief to the dull round of Portsmouth has lately

presented itself, in a company of equestrians, who have opened a circus, or theatre for horsemanship, in the hope of amusing the public, at more of profit than the bare support of the riders and their horses. But in this expectation it seems probable they may be disappointed, especially if their visit should be at all protracted.

' To have disregarded this only amusement of the place had been a great neglect: but a single visit has exhausted all our curiosity. Of the spectators, no small proportion consisted of sailors (drunk or sober), and the *lovely* Cyprians I have before described to you. The low buffoonery of the clown, you may believe, was suited to his audience, and certainly it was coarse and vulgar as even Portsmouth might desire.

' Perhaps I might say that the greatest part of the entertainment proceeded from a jolly tar, in a fit of mirth, letting himself down from the gallery, to snatch off the fool's cap,—which he put upon his own head, and usurping the place and character of the clown, desired him to "*budge*," for he was "*too great a fool to keep the deck*." This introduced a very ludicrous scene between Jack and the clown. The clown met the adventure as mere sailor's fun, bore it patiently, and, in his own way endeavoured to turn it to the amusement of the audience; while Jack made many hits of humour and drollery, and seemed not, altogether, unworthy of the cap. For some time they maintained a very ridiculous and sportive contest, who should wear it, Jack repelling the rough wit and sarcasm of the clown with considerable effect. But, at length, the latter observing that "*two fools*" were "*too much for so genteel an audience*," abruptly seized the cap from the head of the merry tar, and poor Jack, thus deprived of necromantic influence, reeled off the stage, a mere drunken sailor, stammering, by way of apology, *D..d.. dammee, ladies and g... gentleman, I'm o..b..b..lied to strike, for t'other's the b...b... biggest fool.*"

' *Portsmouth, October 31.*

' You no doubt expected that my next letter would be addressed from Cork, and will be surprized to find that I am

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still at Portsmouth:—but this is among the numberless uncertainties of my present calling.

‘ Upon receiving our instructions to repair on board the Bridgewater, Dr. Henderson and myself took a boat and went off to Spithead, with the intention of joining her, but after sailing and rowing amidst the fleets there, and at St. Helen’s, throughout nearly the whole of the day, we at last returned without being able to find our ship.

‘ Previous to going into the boat we had been informed at the Transport-Office, that the vessel we inquired for, had received instructions to sail without delay: it is therefore probable, that she might be getting under weigh at the very moment we went off in search of her. The following morning we learned that she had actually sailed for Cork.

‘ The weather continues to be very unsettled. It has been stormy and tempestuous beyond all that is usual, even at the roughest season of the year. Between 10 and 11 o’clock, on the morning of the 29th, a tremendous gale began to blow. The sky blackened. The tumid clouds rolled in heavy masses, darting forth quick lightning, followed by loud bursts of thunder. The tearing gusts of wind brought with them violent showers of hail, and deluging torrents of rain. The whole elements seemed to be moved in one convulsive effort. The vivid lightning traced its path in broad and fiery flashes, and the terrific thunder instantly followed, as if raging to overtake them. At one instant it rolled in oppressed and convulsive sound, seeming to struggle against some great impediment that confined it to the clouds, and at the next it burst forth in full explosion, as though a match had suddenly fired the whole ordnance of heaven. Hailstones of uncommon magnitude beat down with a force and rapidity, as if contending which should first reach the earth: and scarcely had they fallen, before the sweeping violence of the wind forced them into heaps like deep-drifted snow; in which state they remained for hours after the storm; notwithstanding the heavy torrents of rain which followed them.

‘ The hollow sound of the wind, and the heavy beatings of the hail and rain, through the thick forest of shipping lying

in the harbour, together with the tremendous dashings of the sea, and the troubled motion of the vessels, upon its restless surface, all combined to render the scene greatly awful; but too high a degree of the terrific was intermixed with it, for the spectator to regard its grandeur and sublimity in quiet contemplation.—To convey any just idea of it would require the pen of a Milton, or a Shakespeare.

‘The injuries done were less than might have been expected. Some of the ships and boats necessarily suffered; a few houses were unroofed; and, amidst the devastation, the wind-mill at Gosport was blown to the ground. It was at first said that many lives were lost,—but happily we do not find this report confirmed.

‘The repeated delays to which we have been subjected have proved the means of completing our party, by converting our harmonious trio into a still more social quartette: a circumstance which has happened from our being joined by Dr. Cleg-horn, who is now arrived, at this place, on his way to join the St. Domingo hospital staff. He is a pleasant, well-informed man, and of good professional abilities; is brother to the professor of anatomy at the university of Dublin, and nephew to the celebrated author on the diseases of Minorca. His society is a great acquisition to us, and we are much gratified in having such an agreeable addition to our party. We now look, more anxiously than ever, to the arrival of the Ulysses, in the hope of being allowed to establish a pleasant mess for the voyage.

‘*Spithead, November 12.*

‘GREETINGS from the Ulysses! Our suspense is at length relieved. A few days after I last wrote to you, our long looked for Ulysses arrived, with a fleet from the Downs, and yesterday, Henderson, Master, Cleghorn, and myself, took our births on board, finding Master’s and my baggage stowed in great safety.

‘We left Portsmouth in a grand scene of hurry and confusion, in consequence of it being reported, on the arrival of the fleet from the Downs, that every ship belonging to the expe-

pedition was to sail without further delay; those of the Leeward island division for Barbadoes, and those of the St. Domingo division for Cork. The transports, with troops from Southampton, happening to drop down the river at the same time, to rendezvous at the Motherbank and Spithead, seemed to confirm the report; and suddenly, all was converted into extreme hurry and activity. Multitudes, both from the newly arrived ships, and those which had been long waiting, thronged on shore to purchase provisions and stores, to complete their stock for the voyage. Many, who had passed their hours of suspense in the town, had also their marketings to make; and hence the demand becoming suddenly greater than the supply, it introduced all the confusion of a general scramble. Each seized upon whatever provisions he could find, asking no questions, but paying any money that was demanded.

‘Not aware of the tumultuous pressure of such a moment, and considering ours to be only a short passage, we had purposely delayed purchasing our meat, bread, and other fresh provisions, until we should be certain that the ship, in which we were to make the voyage, was arrived. But should we proceed to sea immediately, and the voyage be at all protracted, we shall be reduced by this neglect to salt food, and the ship’s allowance; for in the general scramble we were unable to obtain what we wished, and were compelled to repair on board with a very deficient supply.

‘All the butchers’ and bakers’ shops were quickly emptied. Not a loaf, not a bit of meat, not even a carrot, nor a cabbage remained, and many went empty away. Neither porters nor servants were required, but every one, who was successful enough to put his hand upon his provisions, gladly became the bearer of his own load. To shew you the extremity to which we were reduced, I may tell you that our party stopped a man upon the street who was carrying home a large gible pie, hot from the oven, which we tempted him to let us take on board, by offering for the pie and the dish more than double their value—or indeed any money he might demand.

‘To an unconcerned spectator it must have been a most ludicrous and diverting scene, and such as might have afforded

full scope to the all-animating pencil of Hogarth. We were too intimately associated in what was passing, to view it only with an eye of amusement. Still I could not but remark the oddity of the assemblage, and the varied expression of countenance, as actuated by hope, joy, disappointment, hurry, and anxiety. Military and naval officers, passengers, servants, soldiers, sailors, boys, women, and negroes, all crowded together upon the streets, formed one heterogeneous mass—one great and motley group, of which every part was in busy motion—each person feeling the apprehension of being left behind.

‘ From the multitudes of anxious heavy-laden individuals who were seen running with their burdens down to the boats, and scrambling to embark, it might have appeared to a stranger, that the inhabitants of Portsmouth were making one great effort to carry off all the provisions, stores, and furniture of the town, previous to evacuating it to the possession of an enemy. One hurried off with legs and shoulders of mutton, another with half a sheep, a third with a huge piece of beef, and others with different joints of veal and pork. Here was a man running with a cheese, there one with a sugar-loaf. Others were scampering away loaded with rice, or papers of groceries. Some ran off with bags of bread, some with baskets of greens, potatoes, carrots, turnips, and the like. Many were seen bending under heavy bundles of clothes, wet from the wash; others loaded with camp-stools, deal boxes, sea-coffers, pewter utensils, and various other kind of stores; and, amidst the throng, ourselves with the smoking gilet pie, and such other provisions as we had been able to procure. Every one was upon the alert. Necessity made all industrious, and, without any idle or scrupulous objections, each was glad to minister to his own wants.

‘ Intermixed with the business of this anxious scene, were many other circumstances which increased the general crowd and confusion of the picture; such as multitudes pressing into, and overflowing the shops—people running against, or tumbling over each other upon the streets—loud disputes and quarrelling—the sadness of parting—greeting of friends, un-

expectedly met, and as suddenly about to separate—sailors quitting their trulls—drunkards reeling—boatmen wrangling—boats overloaded or upset—the tide beating in heavy sprays upon the shore—persons running and hurrying in every direction, for something new, or something forgot—some cursing the boatmen for not pushing off with more speed, and others beseeching and imploring them to stop a minute longer.

‘Such was the state in which we left Portsmouth, after a residence of three weeks, during which we had regarded it as a dull inanimate place; but the change is sudden, and will be only transient; the hurry and tumult will vanish with the sailing of the fleet, and the town will relapse into its tranquil sameness, until the recurrence of a similar occurrence.

‘Upon reaching the ship we had so anxiously looked for, we were received as people unknown and unregarded—conducted into a large ward-room, strewn with various kinds of lumber, and there left, as in a wilderness. No births had been prepared, nor any kind of arrangement made for our accommodation. Not a cot was slung; nor any sleeping place allotted. The ward-room was open to all, and was to serve for the whole of the passengers. We were turned in loose, with six or eight other persons, and soon found ourselves to be only individuals of the general herd—the whole flock being left at large, like sheep in a common fold.

‘The vessel is commanded by an officer of the navy, and it was no part of his duty to prepare accommodations for passengers he neither knew nor expected. She is one of the old 14 gun frigates, and carries some of her guns as an armed transport. Had our ship been a common transport, or a merchantman, I should have felt enough at home to have demanded all we required, but from not having before been passengers on board a ship of war, Cleghorn, Master, and myself were quite at a loss how to proceed. Fortunately, Henderson is more *au fait* to these subjects, and from understanding the necessary etiquette, kindly took upon himself the task of meliorating our condition. Having applied, with all due ceremony, to the governor of our ocean-castle, he soon succeeded in bringing one of the lieutenants to our aid; who very

obligingly gave directions for bettering our situation, and it was gratifying, beyond all the advantages of personal accommodation, to observe with what promptitude his orders were put into execution. The packages, and other incommoding lumber, were quickly removed; and a canvass partition was put up to divide the ward-room into two separate apartments; allotting to us that on the starboard side. Four cots were slung in a row over the cannon, and inclosed with another canvass running, parallel with the former, throughout the whole length of the ward-room. This formed a general sleeping birth for our mess, allowing to each his appropriate dressing room between the several guns: and, thus, were we speedily accommodated with five distinct apartments, consisting of a long narrow dining room, and, as we were assured, four *excellent* bed-rooms.

‘ We were amused and gratified in observing the expertness of the ship’s carpenters, and all the men employed upon this occasion; and it afforded us great pleasure to remark how prompt and obedient they were in executing the commands of their officers. On board a transport, or a merchantman, several days would have been expended, in preparing what was here completed in a single hour.

‘ As we are only fresh-water sailors, it was hinted for our information, that the aft, or sternmost cot, being the upper birth on the star-board side, was deemed the place of honour, and hence appropriated to the use of the captain, always, when the officers sleep in the ward-room. My ambition did not lead to contend for this sickening post of honour, therefore, in obedience to my poor nauseated stomach, I very humbly required to be allowed to take the lowest cot of the four, and am accordingly indulged with the birth nearest the centre of the ship, where I lie with my three comrades kicking, in a row, at my head.

‘ Our first night has been restless and disturbed—the unpleasant heaving of the ship—the creaking of bulk-heads, and other noises—the uneasy motion of the cot, and a whole host of annoyances, prevented me from sleeping. At each motion of the ship, or the cot, my feet were struck against the bulk-

head at the bottom of the ward-room ; or I was bumped upon the huge cannon standing under me ; or had Cleghorn's feet roughly presented to my head. Some of these evils arose from the cot being badly slung, and will be removed ; and a few days, I trust, will reconcile me to those which cannot be remedied.

‘ H. M. S. Ulysses, *November 15.*

‘ THE long expected day is at length arrived, when our proud fleet swells its lofty sails to seek the enemy. The loud signal of departure being given, all the ships of the Leeward division weighed anchor this morning, and put to sea under a most favourable breeze. The Ulysses being left to wait the sailing of the convoy at Cork, we remained tranquil spectators, and had every convenience of enjoying the scene ; which was great, and splendid, and led me strongly to wish that you had been here to witness it, with us. The day being fine, and the wind from a friendly quarter, the picture was beautiful, as it was grand and animated. On passing round, or, to use the sailors' term, on doubling the point of the isle of Wight, all the ships seemed to fall into regular succession, forming a line of numberless extent—each elevating her sails into view, over the territory of the island, as though they were contending which should be longest seen ; or, as if striving to rival the clouds, in their travels through the skies, conscious that they too bore with them their thunder and their lightning.

‘ It was a pleasing spectacle to every beholder, and those who felt as Englishmen ought, derived from it sensations peculiarly grateful. To witness such a fleet full-swelling from our little island into the ocean, to fight our battles in a far distant country, conveyed ideas of greatness and power, which were calculated to raise a just ambition in every British bosom. The ships of war and transports exceeded 200 sail. The immense ship, the Commerce de Marseilles, captured at Toulon, is at the head of the convoy, with the admiral, the commander-in-chief of the army ; and nearly 1,000 troops on board. It is currently reported here that the whole of these, together

with the Cork division, are to rendezvous at Barbadoes, and, making that the grand depôt, proceed from thence to the attack of various colonies.

‘ For a long time past has this vast armament been expected in the West Indies, and during many tedious weeks has England, almost daily, looked for its departure: but to prepare, and to set afloat such a fleet, and such an army, is an undertaking of no trifling magnitude: and far more difficult than those superficial observers, who are ignorant of the service, are willing to imagine.

‘ We were, yesterday, regaled with the loud treat of hearing the ship’s cannon fired, while we were on board. Every thing was cleared away, as if preparing for action: all the doors and windows were set open, and every precaution used, to prevent injury or accident. We remained in the ward-room during the time of firing the guns, in that part of the ship, and endeavoured to be strictly attentive to the effect. It was not unlike a violent stroke of electricity: and, for a moment, we felt stunned with the shock. The jarring concussion conveyed the sensation of the whole ship having shivered asunder, or suddenly burst into atoms; and it seemed matter of surprise that the ears of the sailors should, ever, become capable of supporting the successive and violent explosions of a hostile engagement. Notwithstanding the precaution of letting down the windows, those of the quarter gallery were shattered to pieces.

‘ As we are to wait for other ships, we may now find an opportunity of adding to the scanty stock of provisions, which we procured amidst the general scramble of embarkation; and and we hope, also, that our vessel will have time to take in a fresh supply of water; for we have hitherto suffered very severely from not having any, but what has been putrid and offensive, on board; and coming directly to this shore, has rendered it far worse than if we had been gradually compelled to submit to it, after being a long time at sea. To myself, in particular, this is a weighty misfortune, as I have not the common resource of flying to wine and beer, as a relief. We have taken to our aid both purifiers and filtering stones; and

very soon we hope to have good water from the shore. We are further assured of having our present suffering compensated upon the passage; for the Thames water, now so offensive, will soon restore itself, and, becoming settled and depurated, will be clear and sweet as we could desire.

‘ With regard to our eating, likewise, it is well we are not of the Epicurean school. The many disagreeable smells, and the heaving motion of the ship, have much impaired our appetites; and were we squeamish or over-dainty we must literally starve; for our ship-cuisinier happens to be fit only to cook for the seasoned stomachs of old Neptune’s hardiest sons. In strength and stature this governor of the galley might be deemed a fit opponent for Hercules, although his appearance sometimes calls up the idea of a sable spirit who had been long broiling in the dark regions of Pluto. His professional ignorance is only exceeded by his general stupidity. He makes us a daily visit at breakfast-time, to receive instructions regarding dinner; and he usually stumbles upon some outrageous mistake, or totally spoils whatever is put into his hands. A few days ago he was desired, together with other dishes, to let us have some beef-steaks; and having received his instructions, he bent his neck, in respectful civility, and hastened away: but, within a single hour after, lo, and behold! came our cook running and puffing into the ward-room, with a dish of beef-steaks, all hot and smoking. He had used uncommon expedition in getting them ready, and, added to the blunder of giving us dinner an hour after breakfast, he had burnt the steaks as black as his own skin, and as dry as the outside of a tea-kettle.

‘ Spithead, *November 19.*

‘ WHEN, in my last, I mentioned to you the grand and splendid sight of an important division of our great expedition, I did not anticipate the painful reverse of, thus soon, communicating the unhappy tidings of its return. But, alas! how uncertain are all human expectations! Pleased as we were at the proud sailing of this fleet, only a few days since;

now we could rejoice still more, could we see every ship again safe in harbour.

‘ We yesterday experienced a most tremendous gale, which, from its disastrous effects among the shipping at Spithead, led to very painful apprehensions concerning the fleet which had so lately gone to sea. The wind having shifted to an unfavourable point, and blowing with great violence, it was manifest that the convoy could not proceed; and, but too evident, that many of the ships must be damaged or lost; and I am sorry to add that we are, already, witnessing the melancholy confirmation of our fears, for the fleet not having cleared the channel, was unable to weather the storm, and, during the whole of this day, different ships have been dropping in at St. Helen's, in a sadly disabled state, bringing still worse tidings of those left behind. A storm so violent and destructive has seldom been known in this climate; indeed, many who have been in the West Indies, remarked, that it was scarcely inferior to a tropical hurricane. Even the admiral's ship was in extreme peril, and with great difficulty weathered the gale. She is now brought back in a much injured condition, being very leaky, and having a considerable depth of water in her hold. So alarming was her situation, during the storm, that if the boisterous elements had raged on but a little longer, she had probably gone to the bottom, with the general, the admiral, and nearly 2,000 souls on board. We are told that she is so damaged as to be unfit for service, and that, notwithstanding the large sum lately expended in repairing her, she can never again be fit to go to sea.

‘ The damage done to the vessels, immediately around us, and the perilous state of our own ship, although lying at anchor, had caused a too faithful representation of the evils which might have befallen us, had we been on our passage to Ireland; and rendered us happy in not having previously gone to sea. Signals of distress were heard on all quarters. Pieces of masts, cordage, and planks floated by the sides of the Ulysses: all was hurry and alarm around us. Many vessels near to us were injured—some, driven from their anchors,

drifted on board other ships, or were cast on shore, and, being there wrecked, remained, before our eyes, sad examples of the greater disasters to be apprehended from the storm.

‘In the midst of our apprehensions, and our danger, I could not but notice the strange remarks, and quaint jokes which passed among the sailors, who were variously actuated by feelings of indolence, anxiety, or indifference. One of them being called upon deck, and desired to go aloft, to do something that was expedient at the top of the mast, idly crawled up from below muttering, “I’d rather be drowned in the sea, dammee, than at the mast’s-head”—another, observing a passenger in a severe fit of vomiting, exclaimed—“dammee, he’s only sick for want o’grog”—and a third, as if responsive to the other, called out, “stiff breeze Jack. He’ll be worse yet! Steward! why don’t you give the gentleman a piece of fat pork to settle his stomach.”

‘About five o’clock in the evening the storm began to abate; when torrents of rain lessened the wind, and brought the sailors some respite from the harassing and perilous duties of the day. From those who have returned in safety we hear many details of real, and of imaginary distress, of ludicrous incidents, and of very truly afflicting, and melancholy events; but the distressful sum of the whole is, that the fleet is severely damaged; many ships are lost; numbers of souls have perished; and the whole expedition is disabled and delayed.’

After some further delay, during which a thousand vague stories were circulated respecting the destination of the *Ulysses*, it was finally settled that she should make a running passage to Martinique, in order to hasten thither a body of troops, without waiting for a convoy. The *St. Domingo* stores were therefore removed from the *Ulysses*, and our author and Master were ordered to repair on board the *Lord Sheffield*, a neat West India trader. Their companions were consigned to the *George and Bridget*, a heavy gloomy timber vessel.

' Mother-bank, December 8.

' IN my passage from Portsmouth to the Lord Sheffield, at the Mother-bank, I was exposed to such imminent peril as to have had scarcely a hope of escape. The necessary arrangements being made for occupying our new births, I left Portsmouth in a small four-oared boat, belonging to the Lord Sheffield, accompanied by Mr. Jaffray (the master of the ship) and Mr. McLean, of the hospital department; when, on our way to the Mother-bank, we were suddenly overtaken by a violent, and, situated as we were, most perilous storm. The sky blackened; the tearing winds roared; and the tumid sea, gathering into frightful mountains, rushed before the wind in boisterous loudness, threatening us with instant destruction. Tossed from wave to wave, and dashed and rolled about, amidst the broken mountains of water, every moment seemed likely to be our last; for any one of the heavy seas might have upset our little bark, or have broken over us, and sent us at once, to the bottom. Beset by multitudes of rugged and liquid hills, rupturing on all quarters, and rolling and tumbling one over another towards her, so small a boat seemed to have no chance, nor even a possibility of maintaining herself upon the rude and ever changing surface. From the deep swelling of the sea, together with the constant agitation and breaking of the waves, the sailors could not take sufficient depth to pull steadily their oars; nor could the boat be made to obey the helm. At one moment we were raised, as it were, on a pinnacle—at the next ingulphed in deep shade between two roaring surges, towering high above us, and seeming to say, "Ye shall never rise again." Yet, quickly, were we cast upon a new formed summit, and as suddenly dashed again into the vale of still more rugged billows, each contending in hasty strife, which should be the messenger of our fate.

' Poor McLean, who had taken his seat at the bow, in order to trim the boat, trembled, and turned pale with fear; the sailors grew tired and dissatisfied; and the captain, with a countenance strongly expressive of trouble and anxiety, begged of us not to speak, lest we should divert his attention from

the helm; upon the management of which our only chance seemed to depend. Sitting at his elbow, in dead silence, as he desired, I carefully watched his features as the barometer of my hopes and fears, and you will believe that I felt not much at ease, upon observing him betray manifest symptoms of alarm. To move was even worse than to speak, and might be instant destruction to us all, hence it only remained to us to sit in solemn stillness, and meet whatever fate should overtake it.

‘The captain assures me that I behaved uncommonly well upon the occasion; but I fear all the merit due to me was merely negative, for I am not sure that my conduct was not more the conduct of resignation, than of fortitude. Seeing that no effort, no power that I possessed, could in any degree aid our safety, I resigned myself in implicit obedience to the captain’s better judgment; and, without expressing, indeed I might say, without harbouring useless fears, sat calmly prepared for any result that might occur.

‘To reach the Lord Sheffield was absolutely impossible; for the wind and tide were both in concert with the storm, to prevent it: and to return to Portsmouth was scarcely less difficult, or less perilous, from the inability of our little boat to resist the enormous following waves, impelled by all the force of the gale and the tide.

‘In this critical dilemma it was decided that we should bear away, and steer for the nearest ship there was any hope of our being able to fetch, and the captain, encouraging the sailors to continue at their oars, and bear away to leeward, directed the helm accordingly. In this attempt we struggled on, often washed with the heavy sprays which struck against the boat, and as frequently almost upset by the tearing gusts of wind, or driven to the bottom by the disordered waves. But perseverance, together with great dexterity and address in the management of the boat, at length, succeeded in bringing us alongside the Diana frigate, where we were kindly received, and even cherished as friends rescued from the devouring deep.

‘ Having witnessed the danger to which we had been exposed, the officers in the most liberal manner welcomed us on board, and refusing to hear a word of apology, insisted upon our not attempting to put to sea again until every appearance of the gale had subsided. Indeed they gave orders that our boat should be hoisted on board, and desired that we would think only of making ourselves comfortable for the night. In this they were imperative, nor will you imagine that our obedience was reluctant.

‘ We passed the night in rest and comfort. In the morning the weather was settled and fine, therefore, after taking breakfast with the Diana’s pleasant mess, our boat was lowered down, and we made the best of our way to the Lord Sheffield, reluctantly quitting the hospitable party, with whom misfortune had brought us acquainted.

‘ Without further interruption we reached the Mother-bank, and I have now the pleasure to address you, in safety, from the Lord Sheffield, a very fine West India ship. She is thoroughly clean, has a general air of neatness, and, if we may judge from her appearance, seems likely to verify the commander’s report of her sailing. She is conveniently fitted out for passengers, and is expressly calculated for the West India having awnings, scuttles, port-holes, and all the necessary accommodations for the climate. The cabin is commodious, and is fitted up with mahogany, wainscot, pier glasses, chairs, sofa, &c. due regard being paid to taste and ornament.

‘ *Lord Sheffield, December 8.*

‘ AGAIN I have been unsettled, and moving about from place to place, making my home sometimes on board, sometimes on shore. Upon examining my baggage, soon after I joined the Sheffield, I perceived that one of my boxes was missing; and it has cost me a long, and very sickly round, to recover it, in consequence of our old ship the Ulysses having changed her birth, and dropped down to St. Helen’s to take in troops from the Commerce de Marseilles. In following her we were brought into an open and heavy-swelling sea,

the motion of which made me very unwell, and led me to contemplate the probable sufferings I have to support upon the long voyage we are about to undertake.

‘ Captain Jaffray never having been on board a ship of such immense bulk, availed himself of my necessities, and took the command of the boat, upon this excursion, in order to view the vast Commerce de Marseilles. I wish it were practicable to convey to you, in words, the sense of grandeur with which the mind is inspired on first approaching such an enormous floating battery; or to paint to you the sensations excited by rowing, in a small boat, close under her stern, and her sides; but it were quite impossible to describe how diminutive we felt, and how immense and wonderful she appeared.—To express it by the image of the knat and the camel, it were necessary to suppose the former the minutest of its race, and the latter hugely overgrown. Looking up from our little skiff the sight was truly awful—the figure of the ship was forgotten—the hull appeared a mountain, the masts lofty obelisks erected upon it; and the tremendous batteries, projecting from her sides, conveyed the idea of a stupendous rock hanging over us, fortified with many tiers of cannon.

‘ We also availed ourselves of this excursion to make a visit to our friends on board the George and Bridget, which ship appears still more *sombre* and uncomfortable, after witnessing the neatness of the Lord Sheffield.

‘ We returned yesterday to the Lord Sheffield, and you will be glad to know that we were accompanied by our friend Cleghorn, who, in consequence of a new arrangement, is permitted to join our mess, so that we have again the prospect of crossing the Atlantic pleasantly *en quartette*. Dr. Henderson is less fortunate, for while we are agreeably associated to our former number of professional colleagues, he is left to make the passage alone, or perhaps crowded with strangers in the gloomy George and Bridget: nor do circumstances now seem to afford any probability of a further change, for both the appearance of the weather, and the report of the hour, seem to imply that we have, at length, made our *final* visit on shore.

‘ To-day a signal has been given for the fleet to unmoor ; and, in consequence of this, the Lord Sheffield has dropped down from the Mother-bank to the eastern part of Spithead. —We have taken the precaution of bringing our linen on board, wet from the wash-tub, lest we should be compelled to leave it behind, for should the wind continue at the point from which it now blows, we may be to-morrow on our passage.

‘ *Lord Sheffield, at sea, Dec. 31.*

‘ At length we are at sea ! the convoy sailed from Spithead and St. Helens, the day after I sent you my last letter, and I now lift my pen to you upon the bosom of the Atlantic.

‘ On the first morning of our being at sea, the weather was clear and mild, and the whole fleet, consisting of nearly 300 vessels, of various magnitude and burden, was assembled in compact form, occupying a certain circle of the ocean’s surface, and gliding smoothly on the passage. It formed one of the grandest spectacles ever beheld. Never shall I forget climbing up the shrouds, as high as the main-top, to enjoy it in all its perfection. The sun shone ; the sea was smooth and undisturbed ; the air serene. All the sails were set, and the vessels being near to each other, the white canvas seemed spread, in crowded continuation, throughout the whole extent of the fleet. Looking down upon the multitude of ships, it created the idea of a whole nation moving upon the waters. It was a proud emblem of Britain’s glory. We appeared to command the whole empire of the main ; and the prospect, being calculated to excite flattering hopes of victory and success, could not fail to be viewed, by every true Briton, with delight. But alas ! how delusive were these auspicious dawns ! We had advanced but little on our passage, before a dire reverse succeeded. The sun was now obscured : a thick fog overspread the ocean ; and the whole fleet was shut from our sight. Dark clouds gathered around ; the heavens scowled in terrific blackness ; the shadowed sea swelled with pregnant throes ; and the ships heaved in sickening motion. At length the heavy clouds burst into a roaring storm ; the waters broke into huge

and tremendous mountains; and the ship rolled and pitched, in dreadful agitation, upon the ruptured surface. All seemed a mighty conflict. The boisterous gale tore, in hideous sound; the fleeting clouds hurried before the wind; the rugged ocean in violent disorder hurled mountains over mountain, and issued forth loud-roaring threats of destruction. The ships, struggling against the wind and furious waves, were at one moment tossed on a pinnacle to the heavens, and the next plunged into a glooming deep, surrounded by dark and disordered mountains; whence there seemed no possible escape. In an instant they were again amidst the clouds, and again as suddenly sunk in the dark valley of liquid hills: thus, alternately, threatening us with the danger of being hurled from a summit, or swallowed up in a frightful gulf of the unfathomable ocean. Nor had we barely to encounter the common dangers of the sea, but, from being amidst a crowded fleet, were every instant liable to the additional peril of running aboard some neighbouring ship, and being dashed in pieces, or driven at once to the bottom; and to this we were equally exposed by the darkness of the night, and by a heavy fog.—The terror of these critical moments is necessarily augmented by the lively apprehensions of those who are but little accustomed to the sea: nor is this wonderful, for, where every motion, and every sound is calculated to excite alarm, he must be more than a philosopher, he must be a sailor, who can regard even the less imminent perils with unconcern.

‘ During a storm, the deep rollings of the ship, her deeper lurches, the thundering concussion of heavy seas against her sides, the hollow dreary sound of the wind howling in her sails and rigging, the hurry and the clamour of the ship’s company, the clattering of broken plates, dishes, and basons, and the dismal creakings of the masts, bulkheads, and other parts of the vessel, all conspire to create tumult and confusion, and to keep alive the most trembling apprehensions. At one moment the ship is upset, the next you feel her strike upon a rock: suddenly she is shattered to atoms; or, foundering, sinks to the bottom: and, while you are absorbed in these sensations, a sea, or heavy spray breaks over the deck, a

threatening wave beats in the quarter-gallery, or a rolling mountain dashes the stern windows into the cabin. The water now pouring upon you, from every opening, your fears are confirmed by the confusion of the moment, and you feel that the vessel is positively sinking. It has been my lot to experience precisely these sensations. At one time I have hurried upon the deck, in the intention of throwing myself into the sea, there to cling to a part of the wreck, in the hope of outliving the storm: at another I have sat in silence, upon my birth, with the water creeping up to my knees, and, hopeless of being saved, have resolved to submit to my fate, and seek the deep without useless bewailings. Quickly the accident has been repaired, and in the moment of despair, I have been greeted with tidings of safety.

‘Often, in the midst of threatening appearances, and manifold disquietudes, you are visited by the carpenter, with the “dead-lights,” who, fixing them in the stern windows, nails you up in darkness, as in a coffin, and with as much *sang froid* as men of his calling screw up the bodies of those who are actually dead: at the same time replying, with unfeeling indifference, to your anxious and fearful inquiries regarding the necessity of that step being taken, that it is “*only to keep the spray from breaking the windows!*” But I am fatiguing you with a detail of what every one knows; what all have read; and most who have been at sea have felt: let me therefore revert from storms in general to our present voyage, in which you will find perhaps more of novelty.

‘After the violence of the first gale, most of our scattered fleet, owing to the great attention and exertions of admiral Christian and his officers, were again assembled, and we felicitated ourselves in the hope of proceeding to our place of destination without further interruption: but the turbulent mountains of a disordered sea were scarcely reduced to a more tranquil surface, before the storm was renewed with additional violence. Quickly we were more scattered than before. Many of the ships, unable to resist this second shock, were now much injured, and obliged to put back into port. Some, we suppose, again joined the admiral, and others wholly lost the con-

voy. We were among the latter, but when the weather cleared we fell in with a small division of the fleet, with which we sailed in company for several days. Further repetitions of the storm again separated us, and we were tossed about, seeing no more than three, sometimes but two, and often only a single ship, until, at length, we found ourselves quite alone upon the broad and merciless ocean.

‘ Previous to our final separation we witnessed a scene of a most melancholy and distressing nature. Knowing the exquisite sensibility of your feelings, on such occasions, I ought to spare them the sad relation, but that it may exhibit to you one of the dangers of the sea, in a point of view under which you may not, perhaps, have contemplated it. At the most furious and terrific part of the storm, we suffered the cruel affliction of seeing a neighbouring ship in the utmost danger of being lost, without having the power of affording her relief. She hoisted a flag, and fired guns of distress; but the gale was so dreadful, and the sea running so frightfully high, that it was totally impossible to give her assistance. We stood towards her, and kept her anxiously in view, in the hope of administering aid, should she be supported upon the surface until the weather became moderate. Unhappily the storm continued increasing rather than diminishing in violence. We looked fearfully on the ship, expecting every instant to see her go to the bottom. She repeated signals of distress. We heard them, and saw them, but were unable to obey them. It was a most melancholy and awful crisis. We regarded her in anxious forebodings, examined her, both with the eye and with the telescope, again and again. Her masts were standing; her sails entire; and the rigging apparently perfect; but this, which to landsmen would have seemed favourable, we discovered to be the very reverse; for, hence it was that our best sailors formed the fatal conclusion that her situation was hopeless, and that she must have sprung a leak!

‘ We watched the heavens and the waters in painful solicitude, but saw no relaxation of the storm. Tremendous mountains at one moment concealed the wretched ship from our view: at another we appeared to be enveloped, together, in

the same dark and dismal gulf. You will conceive our sensations upon feeling, that, in one instant more, this deep pit of the ocean might be the grave of every soul on board. Signals, denoting the extreme of danger, were repeated: the sea rolled in terrific disorder: we bent our eyes in vain towards the vessel, deploring her threatened fate, and our own inability to prevent it! Night came on. We lost her in darkness, and — beheld her no more!

‘At the period of separating from the fleet we knew not our place of destination, and hence it became necessary to open the sealed instructions: from which we discovered that Carlisle bay, in Barbadoes, was fixed as the general rendezvous of the fleet. Here, therefore, all our attractions lie, and to this port we are endeavouring to steer; but adverse winds, and unprosperous gales perpetually opposed our progress. It is now more than three weeks from the date of our departure, and we are yet beating about much nearer to you than you imagine, having hitherto advanced on our passage only twelve degrees of longitude, and three of latitude. But in whatever latitude or longitude—amidst whatever storms or dangers, I am always yours.

‘*At sea, January 24, 1796.*

‘On concluding my former letter, I had pleased myself with the expectation of not communicating another sentence of woe; but seven long weeks now have passed, and with difficulty can it be said that we have had an interval of one diurnal round, free from the perils of raging winds, or of the huge and shattered mountains thereby engendered!

‘You, who know me, are well aware that my mind delights not to dwell on the dark surface of events. The severity of the trial is perhaps at an end. Undaunted, I yet look forward to the happy termination of our passage; and even in our present suffering, see much of eventual good, for it will arm me against a multitude of future alarms; already, indeed, am I become so courageous a sailor as to regard the recurring gales with patient firmness; and to look with tranquil eye at the immense mountains which strike the ship, or the dashing

waves which out-top her masts: indeed I can almost fancy that a good ship is imperishable at open sea; and could you know what hours has borne, you would be inclined to embrace the opinion. She has amply proved herself to be what the sailors term a *good sea boat*; and, from what I have said of our passage, you will feel the force of the technical expression that *she can live in all weathers*. The shocks and beatings she has withstood, are almost incredible. Often have I felt astonished that the huge seas and raking winds have not torn every plank asunder, and shivered her to atoms. Her topmasts, yards, and different parts of the rigging have been carried away—her sails spilt—the quarter boards stove in: things have been washed overboard from the deck—seas have broken over her—sprays dashed in the cabin windows—and various other accidents and disasters have befallen her: yet all have been repaired, and she still rides triumphant!

‘Often our party meet with drooping countenances, and sit down in gloomy silence, not recovering their spirits throughout the day! At other times they grow restless and irritable, and cannot remain a quarter of an hour in the same place.—During the severity of the storm I have often remarked how differently the scene has affected the minds of those accustomed, and those who are unaccustomed to the sea. The sailor patiently observes the gale, lowers the yards and topmasts, furls or reefs his sails, makes all snug, and thanks the tempest for a holiday:—heedless of the perils which surround him, he extends himself in his hammock, or reclines his head on a plank or a locker, and, courting the tranquil embraces of Morpheus, regards the howlings of the storm as his peaceful lullaby. The landman, on the contrary, is restless and impatient—listens in terror to the wind—and shrinks in agitation at every sound: the dangers that are, he magnifies, and his mind is tortured in the creation of others, which do not exist. Each moment to him breeds new alarms. He goes upon deck—looks round with affrighted eyes—his feet are unable to support his trembling body—he clings to the companion doorway, and thence ventures to steal a look at the ocean and its waves. His head grows dizzy—nausea seizes him, and he

again descends to the cabin in extreme anxiety. He fixes himself in the leeward corner—places his elbows on his knees—his head on his hands, and, concealing his eyes, bewails his wretched fate! Suddenly he again seeks the deck—multiplies all the perils of the moment—storms the captain and sailors with new questions, all expressive of his terror—fastens again to the companion door-way—gazes at the masts and sails—observes the yards dip into the ocean—feels the yieldings of the ship—imagines she is upset—fancies the masts are falling overboard, and in each rolling wave beholds a devouring sea. Destruction occupies his mind! He returns below—impatiently seats himself—seeks relief in a book—is unable to read—throws away the volume—again takes it up, and again throws it down: nausea returns, and he is seized with dizziness and reaching. His bodily feelings now augment the anguish and disquietude of his mind, and at length as a remedy for both, he prostrates himself in his birth; but is still wretched and comfortless—all rest is denied him—sickness and anxiety remain—and he lies rolling, in fear and anguish, to wear out the fury of the storm!

‘When from the tossing of the ship we are unable to walk, or even to remain upon our legs, we seek a quiet corner of the cabin—seat ourselves—take up a book—and in patient reading hope for better weather. Occasionally we venture, in giddy and stumbling steps, as high as the companion door-way, and looking round prophesy gentle breezes and smooth seas. In these visits we often feel wonder and amazement at observing the carpenter and his mates working, quietly, in the tops: and the sailors hanging about the yards and rigging, in seeming unconcern—tossed by each rolling sea from side to side, far beyond the limits of the ship, and, not unfrequently, while seated at the end of the yard dipped and drenched in the foaming billows of the ocean! The indifference of sea-faring men to the dangers around them is exemplified in every part of their conduct, and even in their common expressions. Often when we have felt the most vivid apprehensions from the fierceness of the ocean, and have tremblingly sought relief, by an appeal to the captain or the mate, we have met only a look

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of unconcern, or at most, the laconic reply "*it blows fresh.*" From their quaint and technical terms it is difficult for any one, unaccustomed to sea, to know precisely what they mean to convey. Their degrees of comparison are peculiar to themselves, and at first not easy to be comprehended: taking the term fresh as the positive, they say it blows *fresh*—it blows *strong*—it blows *hard*: and again, to denote the severest possible gale, they assume hard as the positive—add an oath to form the comparative, and augment that oath to constitute the superlative: thus, it blows *hard*; it blows *d—— hard*; it blows *d—— hard by ——*. Previous to this extremity we are commonly furnished with an omen, by the captain coming down below to change his long coat for a short round jacket, and from this we always prognosticate unfavourably, it being a precaution which denotes busy, and perhaps, perilous employment.

'Our steward is a very old sailor, tough as the ropes of the ship, and callous to every alarm; and, being the person more immediately about us, it most frequently falls to his lot to be teased with questions regarding the weather, the wind, and the sea; and the steady apathy of his feelings, together with his excessive *sang froid* and unconcern, have been often subjects of remark—sometimes, indeed, of vexation to us. During one of our perilous storms, the wind having shifted to a point somewhat less unfavourable, although still blowing a terrific gale, the usual question was asked—Well, steward! how is the weather? "*Squally, squally, gentleman—the wind's coming about—be fine weather soon.*" According to the feelings of this old weather-beaten tar, the severest tempests that we had suffered, had been only squalls, for, in the midst of the most tremendous gales, his reply had always been "*Squally, a little squally, gentlemen.*"—"Are we making any way, steward?" "*Oh yes, fine wind, quite free, going large, make six or seven knots.*" "But surely we have too much of this good wind, steward?" "*Oh no, fine wind as can blow, gentleman—but a little squally—rather squally.*"

'The ship's company often reap much amusement from the little accidents—the ridiculous tumbles—and the strange pos-

tures which the passengers are thrown into by the unsteady motion of the vessel: indeed we now feel so little alarm during a gale, that we sometimes disregard its perils, and join in their smiles and jokes at the ludicrous occurrences which happen among ourselves. Hogarth might have feasted upon them. In the confusion of motions, caused by the heavy seas, if we attempt to walk, we *fetch way*, and are tossed to the farthest side of the cabin, in all the odd and uncommon figures that can be imagined: and often before we can gain our legs, the ship yields to another wave, and we are tumbled in the most ludicrous manner to the opposite side, kicking, struggling, or crawling, amidst a confusion of moving chairs, stools, boxes, and other furniture.

‘ Our dinner ceremony is often rendered a humorous scene: at this hour the cabin being the general rendezvous of the party, we meet—crawl, trembling, towards the table—and tie ourselves in the chairs. A tray is set before us, with deep holes cut in it for the dishes, plates, and glasses; the table and chairs are lashed to the deck; yet one or other frequently gives way and upsets half the things in the cabin! Presently enters the steward with soup, followed by his little slave with potatoes; and the servants with such other covers as there may chance to be. But scarcely are the things upon the table, and the servants stationed, clinging to the backs of our chairs, before a sudden lurch of the ship tumbles all into disorder. Away go steward, servants, and little Mungo, to the lee-corner of the cabin: the soup salutes the lap of one of us; another receives a leg of pork; a third is presented with a piece of mutton or beef; a couple of chickens or ducks fly to another; the pudding jumps nearly into the mouth of the next; and the potatoes are tossed in all directions, about the deck of the cabin. One saves his plate; another stops his knife and fork; some cling to the table, thinking only of saving their persons; one secures the bottle; another, half fallen, holds up his glass in one hand, and fixes himself fast to his chair with the other. Chaos is renewed! every thing is in motion—every thing is in disorder and confusion. At the next roll of the ship the servants, staring with amazement, again *fetch*

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way, and with extended arms are tossed to the other side of the cabin, where they cling fast, and remain fixed as statues, afraid again to move: and, although we are lashed in the chairs ourselves, it is with difficulty we can maintain our seats. Plates, dishes, knives, forks, and glasses, clatter together in all the discord of the moment: the steward and his boy crawling upon their hands and knees after the dancing potatoes, the flying fowls, or walking joints, are rolled over and over at our feet; and all is disorder and confusion. The ship now becomes steady for a moment; the scattered parts of the dinner are collected; and those who have escaped sickness, again attempt to eat. Some, foreseeing all these accidents, fix themselves in a corner upon the cabin-deck, and take the plate between their knees, fancying them in security: but quickly they are tumbled, in ridiculous postures, to the other side of the cabin, sprawling, with outstretched limbs, like frightened crabs. Some having no calls of appetite join not in the feast, but lie swinging up and down in their cots or hammocks; others remain rolling from side to side in their births. Some cry out with sore bruises; some from being wetted with the sprays: one calls out for help; another relieves his stomach from sickness; while others, lamenting only their dinner, loudly bewail the soup, the meat, and the pudding. Some abuse the helmsman; others the ship; and others the sea; while all join in a chorus of imprecations upon the wind.

‘It has been commonly observed, that sailors have many prejudices and superstitions. They often predict a gale, from circumstances which seem to bear no kind of connection in the chain of cause and effect. The prejudice against whistling on board ship appears to be universal; nor do I remember ever to have heard a sailor whistle in any ship; beyond the common *whee-ew, whee-ew*, when he wants a breeze; and passengers are even called upon to pay a forfeit should they, however inadvertently, be heard to whistle: but I forget that I am tiring you with uninteresting details, and that you may think my letter is growing as tedious as the voyage.

' *Carlisle bay, February 13.*

' REJOICE with me and give thanks! After all our perils and dangers we are again safe at anchor, with *terra firma* in view! How delightful an element—how cheering—how animating is the solid earth! Even its grosser part is now endeared to us, and we hail the heavy soil in cordial sympathy, almost rejoicing that our very bodies belong to dull clay! During nine long weeks had we been wandering, amidst a multitude of perils, upon the fickle waters, without once obtaining even the most distant view of land: but of this enough! Let me not recall to your mind scenes that we are endeavouring to forget. Throughout the last fortnight the horrors of boisterous old Ocean have been assauged, and for two or three days, after writing my last notes, we were nearly becalmed. The foaming Atlantic became smooth and tranquil as the fish-pond of a pleasure ground; and, while resting in the most genial temperature, we had only to lament the total absence of that wind, which had long been so frightfully abundant.—This placid interval was occupied in making preparations for fair sailing; and the captain flattered us with the hope of having passed the stormy latitudes. The top-gallant masts were set—the royals and steering sails made ready—fishing lines were thrown into the still sea—and an awning prepared for the quarter-deck; all of which were indications of steady breezes, warm regions, and pleasant sailing. Sensible that you will feel your share of complacency upon the occasion, I must not neglect to note the event of a most joyous day—a day which will be held in gladness by our party, so long as returning years shall continue to place before us the 25th of January.—We were in latitude 27 deg. 49 min., the thermometer at 69 deg. The morning was mild; the sea still and smooth, as a lake: all nature seemed hushed in silence, and no wind could be felt. We rose early, and enjoyed a steady walk on the now quiet deck. The sun, protruding from the bosom of a tranquil ocean, softly stole above the horizon, and swelling into globular form, mildly assumed refulgent brightness, and spread his genial rays around. From excess of motion we had

now lapsed into perfect rest. We contemplated the change with admiration and delight: yet wished enough of wind to carry us on our voyage. The timoneer left the helm; and the ship remained immoveable upon the water. Casting our eyes over the silver surface of the sea, to behold the beautiful rising of the sun, we offered aspirations that fierce Eurus, in the placid humour of milder Zephyr, might follow in his train.

‘At this moment the sky darkened; the thermometer fell to 64; a gentle rippling spread lightly over the still surface of the water; and, almost imperceptibly, brought us----- a favourable breeze! It was from the north-east; and so soft and steady that scarcely did we feel the vessel in motion, ere we were advancing at the rate of five knots an hour! What we had so long and anxiously sought, was now arrived, and we most cordially hailed-----the trade wind! The sailors announced it in loud greetings: need I say that we partook in their liveliest joy! You will readily conceive, without expecting me to describe, our feelings upon this occasion. Never was a happier moment! All sense of our long sufferings vanished, and we were in perfect raptures on this glad event. Indeed we had much cause to think ourselves fortunate on being saluted by the favouring trades in their very earliest latitude. This was a most grateful period of our passage, and, together with the weather we have since experienced, has in some degree compensated former evils. The temperature grew cooler than it had been during the few days of calm. The breeze freshened, and all hands were busily occupied in preparing and setting all possible sail, to obtain the full benefit of this great and constant trader’s friend. Quickly new canvas stretched from every point of the masts and yards, and the ship, winged with five additional sails, widely spread her expanded pinions to embrace the breeze.

‘The crowded sails now remained night and day. No change: no new arrangement—occasional bracing, only, was required! We stood before the wind, and in all the delight of fair weather, and fine sailing, made from 160 to 200 knots within the sailor’s day—from noon to noon. In such seas, and

with such a wind, the ship's company might have slept; leaving the helmsman only, to steer the vessel's course. The delay, the difficulties and dangers we had met with, served but to augment the value of the ever-constant trades, and to render them even more enchanting than we had hoped. The steadiness of this friendly breeze, and its uncertainty of duration, likewise enhanced its charms. So truly delightful did we find it, and so pleasant were the wide ocean, and the weather, that, had not former sickness, with the torment of repeated gales, already confirmed my abhorrence to the sea, I know not but I might have been led into the belief that discomfort and a sailor's life were not strictly synonymous!

'In the course of our passage, we fell in occasionally with stragglers of our unfortunate *armada*, and remained in company with them, until we were again separated by a storm, a thick fog, or the night. A few days before we reached Carlisle bay, we were joined by No 4. transport, with troops, and a band of music on board. This was a happy rencontre, and afforded us a most pleasing novelty. The day had been fine; the evening was mild and clear: gentle Cynthia, with her silver beams, seemed to aid the general stillness that prevailed. Every thing conspired in favour of the music, and the notes of the various instruments, coming to us across the water, were so sweetly soft and melodious as to convey the idea of celestial harmony. We listened in raptures, and, feeling quite enchanted with her delightful sounds, we hoped to continue in the society of our new companion during the remainder of the voyage: but the night concealed us from each other, and, when Aurora again opened the gates of the east, we perceived, with strong regret, that we had already to lament our harmonic associate.

'It was a great advantage to us being on board a West India trader, for the ships built in this climate, being intended for a hot climate, are constructed with much attention to the comfort and accommodation of passengers, and have all the conveniencies of ports, scuttle-holes, window-blinds, awnings, &c.; from the want of which, many of the transports were distressingly close and oppressive. As soon as we had entered

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the trades, our ports and scuttles were beat open, and we had a free circulation of air, through the cabin, night and day.—The windows were likewise opened; and, as we sailed before the wind, the Venetian blinds admitted the breeze, while they excluded the rays of the sun. From these means we were kept pleasantly cool below; and when upon deck we were protected by a canvas awning, under which we had a shaded walk, ventilated by a free current of air. Having several bathing tubs on board, we had likewise the comfort—the luxury I might say, of plunging into sea-water every morning; and, in order not to meet the torrefaction of these burning regions, with all the rigid fibre, and strong vascular action of Europe, I have adopted the plan of using a very abstemious diet, and have submitted to a short preparatory course of medicine. My comrades smile at the precaution, but, *although doctors may disagree*, I shall hope on some future day to exhibit to you, the good effects of this early discipline. Wine, it is said by many, will *counteract* the heat of the climate. Let those take it who think so—my faculties have not yet enabled me to comprehend the ingenious doctrine which would employ fire to extinguish heat—nor has my sagacity taught me how to quench a flame by the addition of oil, or æther!

‘Many days previous to our arrival in Carlisle bay, the increase of temperature had brought out upon our skins that troublesome eruption called *prickly heat*. Our bodies were covered with it, and the irritation and itching it occasioned were intolerable. Our companion, Dr. Cleghorn, being an early sufferer from it, demanded of those who had been accustomed to the West Indies, how long his skin was thus to be tormented? So long, good doctor, as you remain in health, was the reply! Upon which, with additional rubbing and scratching, the doctor jocosely, although somewhat impatiently, exclaimed in the accents of his country, “Faith captain, and would you carry us into never-ceasing torment? ’Bout ship and tack for England immediately.”

‘On the morning of the 10th instant the boatswain descried the highest points of Barbadoes, when *land! land!* was in-

stantly echoed throughout the ship, to the great joy of all on board : and to the boatswain's profit, who, being the first that sounded the glad tidings, became entitled to the customary fee of a bottle of rum, or brandy. It required the eye of a sailor to distinguish the all-delighting *terra firma*, amidst the clouds; the passengers looked, and looked in vain! a nearer approach of yet some leagues was necessary to render it visible to the eye of a landsman, and when we at length discerned it, the earth appeared only as the more fixed of the clouds—forming a dark streak a little above the horizon. This streak grew gradually more and more distinct, till breaking as we advanced it became unequal, and assumed the form of mountains; and at length the appearance of land. Soon we discovered it to be the northern point of the island of Barbadoes; but Carlisle bay is to the south: we had, therefore, to coast round nearly half the extent of the island, before we could reach the harbour. This delay afforded us a good opportunity of viewing the island. We stood near in, and could observe distinctly the objects on shore. I took my seat upon deck, and with an anxious eye, aided by the telescope, minutely examined every thing we passed. The mind, ever active, generally forms to itself some image of the things we hear spoken of, before an opportunity occurs of seeing them. Often the picture is very incorrect and extravagant; but, upon the present occasion, I was pleased to find that I had formed to myself a tolerable accurate copy of the West Indies, from the descriptions I had heard and read. In particular of the appearance of the fields, and of the slaves, labouring with the whip at their backs, had been painted very correctly in my imagination; for, I now saw them, in reality, what my mind had long represented them.

‘ We made the entrance of the harbour, just as the sun was sinking into his watery bed, for the night; and it was in debate whether we could fetch in before it grew dark, when it was suddenly decided against us, by the wind shifting and coming round *directly a-head*. This we learned was the land breeze. In these regions the trade-wind blows from the sea,

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during the day; but this commonly subsides, as the sun goes down, and a contrary breeze sets in, from the land, which continues to blow throughout the night.

‘ Being prevented from coming to anchor, we stood off and on at the harbour’s mouth until morning, when we discovered that we had no cause of regret in this additional delay; for all the beauties of Carlisle bay were now exhibited to us—not only under the still light of the morning, but brightened by the golden rays of a rising sun. Had we gone in at night, we must have lost a most enchanting prospect; and the loss had been irremediable, for, after the eye had been accustomed to the rich foliage, the houses, the towns, the fields, and all the peculiarity of tropical scenery, the impression we now felt could never have been excited. The mind was at this moment in a state to enjoy them: the novelty was great, and every object striking. We had been long at sea, and the eye sought eagerly the shore. Land was anxiously desired: the view of it opened to us very favourably; and, from all the various circumstances conspiring to its improvement, the prospect was rendered more delightful than it could have been at any other period.

‘ The harbour is a fine open bay, the whole of which, with its varied shores, were before the eye: many ships were riding at anchor, and a multitude of boats and small vessels were sailing and rowing to and fro. The two points of land at the entrance serve as a defence; while they augment the beauty of the harbour. On one of them appears a formidable battery, together with an extensive barrack for troops: on the other is a fine grove of mountain-cabbage, and coco-nut trees. Through the shipping at the bottom of the bay, are seen numbers of neat cottages; among which are interspersed various tropical trees, affording the protecting shelter of their umbrageous summits. On the south-west shore stands Bridge-town, the capital of the island; and on the north-east upon high ground is a new and handsome quadrangle of stone barracks, with the military hospital and other buildings of St. Anne’s Hill. Nor is the prospect confined to those limits. It extends still wider, and in addition to the water, the shipping, and the numerous other objects, immediately before the eye, the back ground,

beyond the bay, and above all the town, forms a rich and extensive landscape. The land is seen above the houses, the trees, and the topmasts of the ships, rising to a great distance, clothed in all the richness of its tropical apparel. Verdant fields of sugar, of coffee, and of cotton; fine groves, dark with luxuriant foliage; country villas; clusters of negro huts, wind-mills, and sugar-works, all present themselves to diversify and enliven the picture. Such was the scene that appeared before us as we sailed into Carlisle bay. You, whose idol is nature, in all her forms, will feel a friendship for the evening land-breeze which so happily lengthened a voyage, before too long.

Barbadoes, February.

‘PREVIOUS to our coming into harbour from our late voyage, the ship’s company was for several days busily employed in cleaning, painting, and adorning the vessel; and we learned that it is a general custom to dress the West India ships in a new jacket, during the steady sailing of running down the trades, in order that they may appear clean, and in the best condition, while remaining in the harbours of the islands: and in this the sailors have a degree of pride, which excites a general spirit of emulation—every captain wishing to render his vessel the object of attention and admiration. In consequence of this custom the West India harbours become quite a drawing-room of fine-dressed merchantmen. Here each ship exhibits her best apparel, and vying with the others, holds out her lures to catch the eye of every beholder. The decoration is universal. From head to stern, not a plank, a mast, a yard, nor scarcely a rope escapes; each receives a full-dress coat of paint, or is made new with a black varnish of tar. The painting of the more prominent parts of our ship being completed, the progress of cleaning, and new-dressing was extended to such minutiae as to become very highly ridiculous. A painting mania seemed to have seized the whole crew, and every one was up to his elbows in grease, tar, and paint. The capstan—the quarter-boards—the binacles—the hen-koops—every thing around us was bedaubed. The cannon—the hand-spicke—the capstan bars—the barrels—the

buckets—the very handle of the pump—all were painted—all put into one uniform of black and yellow. Not an iron ring, a bolt, nor a nail was neglected—not even the cannon balls escaped—and, that nothing should be omitted, the inner surface of the water buckets, regardless of health, were dressed with their poisonous coating. Never was system more universally observed; nor idle excess rendered more conspicuous. Not an inch, nor an atom, but appeared in Lord Sheffield's livery; black and yellow prevailed from the highest point of the masts, down to the very water's edge. Nothing can convey to you a stronger idea of the fine steady sailing, in a trade wind, than to know that the outer part of the ship is painted at sea, by men hanging in ropes at her sides, while she is proceeding with full sails on her passage.

‘The sailors have another, and yet stronger pride, which respects the sailing of their vessel: like every man's horse,—every sailor's ship is *the best in the world*,—every captain commands the quickest sailing vessel of the fleet; and *he* would cease to merit the honour of a jacket, who could be brought to acknowledge, however true it might be, that his ship was a bad sailor: for, however manifest this shall appear, an excuse is never wanting. She is in bad trim—she is too much astern—too much ahead—is too deep—too light—the breeze is not from her point—she sails best upon a wind—before the wind—she makes best way in a gale—in a light breeze: so that be the weather, and the attendant circumstances whatever they may, here is a *side-wind* for each of them; and a son of the ocean is always expert enough to appropriate them in favour of his vessel, so as to guard her, at every point, against the imputation of being a dull sailor. It happened that our ship was found not to advance in proportion to the breeze; it was, therefore, deemed expedient to give her a new main-top-gal-lant mast; and this was put up, in the night time, with as much secrecy as if the failure of the whole expedition had hung upon its disclosure. We afterwards discovered that it was done in the dark, not to conceal it from the passengers only, but from the ship's company of a vessel, which happened

then to be sailing near us ; and with which the Lord Sheffield was secretly vying in her progress.

‘ A day or two after we had entered into the latitude of the trade-wind, we had to pass the tropic ; which was an occasion of great mirth and festivity. The usual ceremonies were performed—the usual honours paid to old Neptune, and all was holiday. The great deity of the ocean, accompanied by his queen-rib of the waters, ascended from the deep, in order to witness *the baptism* of such of his children who had not, already, done homage at his font. This is a ceremony which is, commonly, thought to be ludicrous : but, in the way it is conducted by the rough tars, it becomes a very dirty and severe process. It is extended to every person on board, who has not before been within the tropics, varying only in its mode of application, and in its severities.

‘ The old sailors are careful to discover, in the course of the passage, which of their mess-mates have not undergone the discipline of this tropical baptism ; and on this day, all who are marked for the ceremony are led upon deck, one by one, blindfolded. In this state the young sailor is made to seat himself upon a small narrow plank, laid across a large tub of salt water, or upon the edge of the tub itself, and, in this perilous situation, they administer to him a long and ridiculous oath ; then offer him a glass of gin, by way of cordial, which they compel him to drink, and finds it to be only a glass of salt water. They then smear his face with a nasty compound of grease, tar, and stinking oil, taking care in the operation to force some of it into his mouth. The next step is to shave this off, and the razor employed for this purpose is commonly a piece of an old iron hoop, beat full of notches. The filth being in part scraped from his chin, with this rough instrument, the baptismal process is completed by the plank, upon which he is seated, being suddenly withdrawn, and the young initiated plunged head and ears into the tub of water ; where he is made to lie kicking and sprawling for a considerable time ; after which he is permitted to rise from his briny birth ; when his eyes are unveiled—he washes his countenance, and issues forth a privileged son of old Neptune—*free to range*

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in the tropical seas. If he contends, or offers any resistance, he is treated with three or four dippings, instead of one; he, therefore, finds it best not to be refractory, and smothers his wrath in the secret pleasure of witnessing a similar process imposed upon the rest of his messmates. Every one, whether sailor or landsman, is called upon to undergo this christening ceremony, as the task of initiation.

'As passengers we were honoured with a visit from father Neptune and his spouse, to welcome us to their tropical dwelling, and to announce to us the baptismal vow: but we compromised the discipline of dipping and shaving, by offering the tribute of a few gallons of rum; and petitioning the beautiful Amphitrite to intercede in our behalf. Nevertheless, we were taught that it would be prudent to remain quietly in the cabin, during this briny christening of the sailors.

'The servants were led by curiosity to visit the deck, hoping to witness the ceremony without becoming themselves the objects of it: but they were speedily presented with a complete washing of sea-water, and obliged to beat a hasty retreat, in order to escape the shaving: one of them, who was a great coxcomb in his dress, grew violently enraged, and felt highly indignant that the sailors should dare to wet and spoil his clothes; and in his anger he ran down below to arm himself with a sword, then returning upon deck, swore that he would run the first man through the body, who should throw water upon him again: but scarcely had he said the words, and brandished the sabre, before several buckets of water were dashed upon his head and shoulders, by some sailors who had placed themselves in the main-top. The poor man stormed violently, swore, stamped, and vowed vengeance. The sailors, laughing at his impotent rage, continued to pour down bucket after bucket. He was unable to climb up the shrouds; and they diverted themselves at his wrath and distress, until, at length seeing that they defied all his threats, he again returned to the cabin, loading them with imprecations, and loudly vowing vengeance, unmindful that his best remedy was to change his clothes, wipe himself dry, and let his choler

subside. Custom is absolute, and, in the hands of such hardy ministers, it were folly to oppose its despotic government.

‘ During our fine tropical sailing we were frequently amused in observing the immense shoals of porpoises, dolphins, and flying fish, which, from time to time, assembled about the ship. The frightful shark and spouting grampus also made us frequent visits. The shoals of dolphins are often so immense as to cover the sea into a kind of rich and dazzling mine, in which the lively interchanges of colour out-rival all the splendour of brilliants and gold.

‘ The day before we made the land we met with shoals of flying fish of much smaller size than those we had commonly seen—not larger indeed than sprats. On rising out of the water, in large bodies at a time, they caused a sound like the splashing of rain, which being heard by the captain, he instantly exclaimed, “*Ha! bravo! land, land! here are the little splashers, we can’t be far from the land!*” This small race of flying fish, it seems, is never observed at any great distance from the shore, nor in the deeper parts of the Atlantic: wherefore their appearance is assumed as a sure prognostic of a speedy approach to the land.

‘ Like all young sailors we felt our attention strongly attracted by the phenomenon of the lights produced in the sea, at night, from the ship beating her way through the water.—We often witnessed them in a very striking degree, and were, frequently, led to the forepart of the ship to view them in their brightest splendour; for there the ship appeared to be sailing through liquid flames. On every side the lights were vivid and beautiful, but at the forecastle we saw the pitchings and plunges of the vessel strike out wide flashes, resembling sheets of fire. The great noise at the head of the ship likewise added to the effect, and it required very little help of the imagination to create a belief that we, actually, heard the sparks and crackling of more destructive flames. At the stern these lights appear as if they poured from the vessel in bright streams of fire, extending to a considerable distance in her wake.

' We drew up buckets of water occasionally to the deck, and found that by agitating it, either with the hand or a piece of wood, we could excite the same luminous appearance: but, after disturbing it for a short time, this effect ceased; and no degree of agitation was sufficient to renew it in the same water. You know the various theories and speculations which have been offered in explanation of this phenomenon, I need not, therefore, swell my letter by repeating them.

' The various beautiful rising and setting of the sun and the moon were the frequent and admired subjects of our contemplation. Viewed from a West India sea, the surface of these orbs does not appear like a mere plane fixed in the heavens as in Europe, but their convexity and globular form are seen very distinctly. When rising they appear as detached globes protruding from the deep: at setting they resemble distinct spheres sinking, or rather dropping, divested of their rays, into the ocean.

' The moon is brighter than in England, and reflects a clearer light. When only a few days old the whole orb is visible—not decked in uniform brightness, as when it is at the full, but with the great body in shade, while the horned edge alone is dressed in silver.

' The appearance of the western sky was likewise an object of novelty to us. By day the whole canopy is one fine azure expanse, bright and unclouded; but, at evening, dark and mountainous clouds accumulate, and, gathering into deep heavy masses, impend in awful majesty of form over the horizon.'

The passengers in the Lord Sheffield were informed of the threatening aspect the French, under Victor Hugues, had assumed, of the perilous state of St. Vincent and Grenada, of the loss of the *Læda* frigate, and of the non-arrival of the convoys.

' The delight we felt on the glad occasion of setting our feet, again, upon *terra firma*,' proceeds our author, ' was more exquisite than I can express; and it was highly aug-

mented by the novelty that surrounded us. The houses, the streets, the people, the fruit, fish, and vegetables, the trees, the fields, every thing before us, was new. The very means of labour and amusement were novel, and all combined to indicate the change we had made—all bespoke our removal from a northern to a tropical latitude. We gazed on all we met, and all we passed. Objects which at other moments had been trifling and unimportant, now called forth our attention. The eye of curiosity suffered nothing to escape. Ideas crowded upon our minds in such rapid succession, that the confusion of chaos seemed to be renewed. The universal metamorphosis that surrounded us prevented our digesting the scene, which presented itself, into any thing of order or arrangement: yet was the whole uncommonly gratifying; and, without being able to discriminate, we contemplated, in a sort of pleasing reverie, this seeming change of worlds. Complex as are the feelings of such a moment, I have often wished that they were less fleeting, or could more frequently recur; for, upon such occasions, the mind seems to enjoy unparalleled delight; and to dwell with rapture, on objects which, under other circumstances, would pass unheeded by.

‘ We took our umbrellas in our hands, by way of parasols, but found less occasion for them than we had been taught to expect; for although the heat was greater, by several degrees, in Bridge Town than in the harbour, we did not feel from it any degree of langour or oppression. A pleasant breeze counteracted the ardent rays of the sun; and at our first visit we rambled for two hours about the town, to the barracks, and into the fields, with far less inconvenience from heat, than I have often experienced in the close and sultry days of England.

‘ *Carlisle bay, February.*

‘ FROM the details I gave you of our tedious voyage, you will learn with surprize that we still continue to live on board ship. But to this we have many inducements. It is much cooler in the harbour, than it is in Bridge Town; we are much less annoyed with musquitoes; and, from our be-

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longing to the St. Domingo staff, and being in daily expectation of receiving orders to proceed to that island, we are at all moments ready to move, and without the risk of leaving our baggage behind; moreover, by living on board, while we are detained to windward, our sea-habits are continued, and perhaps we may thereby avoid the tormenting sickness of a second voyage.

‘ We have a regular mess established. Every morning we go or send to market for provisions; and our domestic arrangements are better regulated, and in more of comfort than if we were on shore. Occasionally we dine, and spend the whole, or part of a day at Bridge Town, but we never fail to return on board to sleep.

‘ We find that the accommodations of a West India tavern, although not precisely what a Bond-street lounge would expect in St James’s-street, or a high fed alderman in the city, are by no means despicable: and you know that I am enough a soldier, and a traveller, rather to court the varieties we meet, than to repine, and regard them as hardships, because they are not, in every feature, the same as we are accustomed with in England.

‘ But you have desired to be told of these varieties as they occur, and I have an early opportunity of trying your patience. Our first dinner on shore was at a tavern in Bridge Town, kept by a mulatto woman, Mary Bella Green. Plenty prevailed. The crowded table smoked with fish, a piece of boiled beef, a pepper-pot, a turkey, some roasted veal, and a quarter of mutton, with several different kinds of puddings, and quite an assortment of vegetables, of eight or nine different species—European and tropical. Our liquors were—most excellent bottled porter, good Madeira, tolerable claret, and very fine Noyeau. In the dessert we were sadly disappointed, for instead of the fine tropical fruits we had expected, three or four of the very common and inferior species were set before us, unripe, and bad in quality: viz. groaves, bananas, and sour-sops, with some tough and bitter shaddocks—to any, and all of which, the commonest apples, or gooseberries of Europe had been preferable. But Barbadoes is not an island

abounding in the finer fruits of the climate, hence we do not judge of the delicious productions of the West Indies by this ill-chosen sample.

‘ Our party, for whom we had ordered dinner, consisted of nine persons, but upon coming to table, we found covers for fifteen, and learned that, instead of giving us a private dinner, as we had directed, they had put us into a large public room, and served a kind of *table d’hôte*. Not being prepared for this arrangement, we remonstrated against it, and, with some difficulty, prevailed in having the extra-covers removed; but we soon perceived that we had gained little by thus interrupting the customs of the house; for they directly spread another table in the same room, and, setting down six strangers close by us, divided the dinner they had dressed between the two parties.

‘ In making out their bill for payment, they do not detail the separate articles of the dinner, the number of bottles of wine, the different plates of fruit, &c. as in England, but put down the whole sum, under the three general items of *dinner*, *wine*, and *fruit*; and, at any house you are accustomed to use, if you call occasionally in a morning to rest, or to take shelter from the sun, or rain, they give you a glass of lemonade, or of cocoa-nut water, with a “*very welcome*,” and consider themselves rewarded, by the payment you make when you take dinner at the house. Nor is the demand for this at all extravagant, except, in so far as regards the bad fruit. We paid a dollar each for dinner; the same for the wine; and half a dollar for the dessert.

‘ They make the wine and porter very pleasantly cool, by putting the bottles in wet cloth bags, and placing them in the open windows, for some time before dinner; taking care to sprinkle them occasionally with water, as they stand exposed to the breeze. A very rapid evaporation is thus produced, and consequently far more heat carried off, than by merely setting the bottles in cold water. The porter is so highly improved by the climate, and rendered so pleasant, by this method of cooling, as to be very superior to any that is drank in England.

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‘The attendants of the table are very numerous, black and yellow, male and female—perhaps too numerous to serve you well; for they are badly regulated, and the duty of one being the duty of all, it is not regarded as the particular duty of either, and consequently is apt to be left unheeded. Each, being idle and inactive, waits for another to step before him, when any thing is called for; and, although you have a crowd of servants around you, it is difficult to obtain what you want.

‘The females are usually of erect figure and stately carriage, but they move in all the largour of the climate. They appear without shoes and stockings, in a short white jacket, and a thin short petticoat. They wear a white turban on the head; but the neck and shoulders are left bare. Silence is not esteemed a necessary qualification among them, for they often join, with great freedom, and a sad drawling accent, in the conversation of the table. This will appear to you but little consistent with the reserve and abject forbearance of slavery; but it is in consequence of the public situation in which these women are placed, and the familiarity that is commonly used towards them by strangers—to any, or all of whom they are the very obedient, obliging, and *most convenient* humble servants.

‘On first making inquiry respecting the accommodations of the house, we were surprized to learn their extent, and the facility with which they are attainable. A bed may be had for a half a dollar a night, or three dollars a week; and, for an additional sum well understood, the choice of an attendant to draw the curtains.

‘The hostess of the tavern is usually a black, or mulatto woman, who has been the favoured enamorata of some *backra* [the negro term used for *white*] man; from whom she has obtained her freedom, and perhaps two or three slaves to assist her in carrying on the business of the house; where she now indulges in indolence, and the good things of life, grows fat, and feels herself of importance in society. To those who, in compliance with the Highgate privilege, court her particular attention, in preference to the more youthful attendants around her, she is supposed not to be violently cruel.

' It is to her advantage that the female attendants of her family should be as handsome as she can procure them. Being slaves, the only recompence of their services is the food they eat, the hard bed they sleep on, and the few loose clothes which are hung upon them. One privilege, indeed, is allowed them, which, you will be shocked to know, is that of tenderly disposing of their persons; and this offers the only hope they have of procuring a sum of money, wherewith to purchase their freedom: and the resource among them is so common, that neither shame nor disgrace attaches to it; but, on the contrary, she who is most sought, becomes an object of envy, and is proud of the distinction shewn her.

' One of our attendants at table, appeared, both from her conversation and behaviour, to be very superior to her degraded station. She had nothing of beauty, nor even prettiness of face, but she was of good figure, and of respectable and interesting demeanor, and, in point of intellect, far above her colleagues. Together with gentleness of manner, and an easy, pleasant address, she possesses a degree of understanding and ability which claim respect. In principle, and in sentiment, she appeared virtuous; and, from the frankness of her replies, it was evident that she knew no sense of wrong in her conduct. We could not but lament, that the imperious habits of the country did not allow of her being placed as a more respectable member of society.

' This woman is the great support of the house—the barmaid, and leading manager of the family. Her mistress had refused to take 100 guineas for her; which, she assured us, had been offered by a gentlemen who would have purchased her. She has a very lively interesting little daughter, a Mettée, about four years old. Of this child she spoke with great tenderness, and appeared to bear it all the fond attachment of an affectionate parent. Yet, as the infant was born in slavery, should the mother by any means obtain her freedom, she cannot claim her child; but must leave it, still the disposable property of her mistress, equally liable to be sold as any other piece of furniture in the house: for, in Barbadoes, the offspring of a woman in slavery becomes the absolute property of the

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owner to whom the mother belongs, whether it be black, yellow, or white; as the law knows no period when the child of a slave shall be born free, however removed from the African: nor can the mother, under any circumstances of subsequent liberation, claim her infant from its owner, even though it should be of fairer skin than the fairest European. Thus are the natural ties of our species torn asunder; and the dearest attachments, and purest affections of the heart cruelly broken down! Babes are separated from their parents, and mothers robbed of their children, by this unnatural appropriation of human substance!

‘The manners and the circumstances attending the situation of this mulatto were strongly interesting. Her whole deportment bespoke a degree of delicacy and refinement, together with a superiority of mind and understanding! Her intelligence and quickness of perception assured us that she had talents capable of high improvement; and it is probable, that had fortune so placed her in life, as to have offered her the acquirements of a chaste and cultivated education, this woman, notwithstanding the colour of her skin, had made a faithful and virtuous wife; been an ornament to her friends and society; and a blessing to the man who should have made her the partner of his hours.

‘The taverns are commonly known by the names of the persons who keep them. The most frequented, at Bridge Town, are those of Nancy Clarke and Mary Bella Green; the former a black—the latter a mulatto woman. Mrs. Clarke or Mrs. Green would scarcely be known! A party is said to dine at Mary Bella Green’s, or at Nancy Clarke’s—or, more concisely, *Mary Bella’s* or at *Nancy’s*.—The title *Mrs.*—seems to be reserved, solely, for the ladies from Europe and the white creoles, and to form a distinction between them and the women of colour of all classes and descriptions—none of whom, of whatever shade or degree, are dignified with this appellation.

‘In the evening, after taking our first dinner on shore, Dr. Cleghorn and myself made a walk to visit the hospitals and barracks at St. Anne’s Hill; and, on our way back to Bridge Town, we were accosted by two negro girls of a respectable

appearance, sitting upon the step of a gentleman's gateway, by the road side.

' Being just arrived in a land of slavery, and desirous to converse with the Africans, and their descendants, in order to ascertain whether any deficiency of intellect, or inferiority of natural capacity was observable among them, we gladly detained ourselves, for some minutes, in conversation with these decent-looking young slaves. They were the property of the gentleman, at whose gate they were sitting; and were employed as house servants, or as they are here termed "*housewenches*," in his family.

' Trifling as it is, I give you the conversation as it passed, divesting it only of the broken accent, with which our language is spoken by the negroes. It will serve to shew you that the replies were not inapposite; and perhaps not inferior to what might have been expected, from the common order of people in Europe. One of the girls was about 16, the other 18 years of age. They conversed with ease and affability, but were very respectful and unassuming; and their whole conduct might have done credit even to European servants, not of the lowest class.

' On our asking to whom they belonged, they replied "We belong to col. B's lady." Is this col. B's house? "Yes; but the colonel is not at home—he is gone to England." How does it happen that you are sitting here, instead of being in the house at work? "Our work for to day is finished, and we came to the gate to see the strangers as they pass by." What strangers? "The strangers, who are come with the army from old England." Do you like to meet strangers? "Oh! yes, yes!" And to talk with them? "Yes, if they talk with us." Are the people here kind to strangers? "Oh, yes! it is always our custom: every body should be more kind to strangers than to their own people." Why so?—should we not be kind to every body? "Yes! we should be kind to every body, but we should be more kind to strangers, because they come far from their own home and their friends; and because we may some time travel ourselves, and want kindness from others." Have you ever been far from your home?

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“No! but perhaps we may some day.” How far have you ever travelled from your master’s house? “Never more than five miles.” Did you ride or walk? They both smiled, and hung down their heads, looking to the ground. No reply could have been more expressive, nor better understood.—“Ride! a slave ride! you are strangers here indeed! No! we walked, bore our burdens on our backs, and journied on our naked feet!” We bade them good night, and walked on, pleased with the rencontre.

‘*Carlisle Bay, February.*

‘THE office of caterer for the mess having fallen to the lot of your friend, I may tell you that I sometimes go to Bridge Town, to buy living meat for dinner. You will, perhaps, be surprized to learn that the animals are here brought alive into the market, to be killed after the different joints are sold; and, that it often happens, that the meat is slaughtered, consigned to the pot or spit, brought to table, and eaten, without growing cold!

‘Cleghorn and myself frequently make excursions on shore, and stroll about the town and the fields, by way of exercise, and of gratifying the strong curiosity which we feel to see and know all that appertains to the change we have made. Near the residence of the governor our attention was arrested by a party of slaves, or, according to the language of the island, a *gang of negroes*, who were employed in making a road to the governor’s house. It was the first large body of slaves we had met with, toiling at their regular employment, immediately under the lash of the whip; and we could not but remark that the manner of executing the task afforded a striking example of the indolence of climate, and of slavery. Nothing of diligence, nor industry appeared among them; and, verily, but little of bodily labour was expended. They seemed almost too idle to raise the hammer, which they let fall by its own weight, repeating the blow several times upon the same stone, until it was broken to pieces. A mulatto overseer attended them, holding a whip at their backs; but he had every appearance of being as much a stranger to industry, as the negroes; who

proceeded very indolently, without seeming to be at all apprehensive of the driver or his whip, except when he made it fall across them in stripes.

‘ In proportion to the work done by English labourers, and and the price usually paid for it, the labour of these slaves could not be calculated at so much as two-pence per day; for almost any two men in England would, with the greatest ease, do as much work in a given time, as was performed by a dozen of these indolent meagre-looking beings.

‘ In one of our late preambulations, we fell in with a party of negro women washing linen, at the opening of a river near the sea; and a more disgusting sight I do not recollect ever to have beheld. They were old women, of strong-marked, and very hideous African countenance; and had no regard to decency either of manner or person. Their bodies were naked, save a bit of blue cloth folded round the loins, and brought between the legs from behind to fasten before. As they stooped down to dip the linen in the river, many of them exposed the crowded and callous scars of repeated punishment; and when they moved themselves in rubbing the clothes, or beating them upon the large stones before them, their long flaccid breasts fell over their arms, or hung in loose masses of corrugated skin flapping upon their bodies, so as to create a most disgusting and abhorrent appearance.

‘ It has also happened to us to witness another species of indelicacy among the negro women, which is extremely offensive to an European eye. Regardless of decency, and of the crowd they meet, they are sometimes seen drawing their naked pendulous breasts as they walk along, and spilling their milk upon the public streets.

‘ You will, perhaps, be more shocked than surprized that such-like indecencies should occur among the slaves; but you will join in my regret that they should happen before the eyes of European wives, and spinsters; and you will lament the sad effect which the frequent recurrence of such offensive scenes must necessarily have, in destroying that modest delicacy of sentiment, which renders so truly lovely, while it so much exalts the female mind.

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‘ Of this baneful effect, I am sorry to have it in my power to mention to you a striking example, which lately occurred to my notice. Being in company with a large party of Europeans, and white creoles, male and female, husbands, wives, widows, maidens, and strangers, at the time when the party was assembled, during the short moment before dinner, a sweet little babe, only a few months old, was brought into the room, by its black nurse, to be exhibited to the company: when the woman, who, with the exception of one short petticoat, was in perfect nudity, was desired before all present to suckle the child; and its mother and grandmother, two of the most respectable ladies we have met since we left England, in order to please “little bab,” amused themselves by slapping, pressing, shaking about, and playing with the long black breasts of the slave, with very indelicate familiarity, before the whole company; and without seeming to be at all sensible, that it was in any degree indecent or improper !

‘ In all corners of the streets we meet with the filthy sight of pairs of negroes, of both sexes, sitting and lying about, with their heads in each other’s laps, picking out the swarms of vermin which occupy their wool. This, as we had been told on board the slave ships, seems to be a feast of delight to the blacks, whether in freedom, or in slavery.

‘ Sunday is a day of festivity among the slaves. They are passionately fond of dancing; and the sabbath offering them an interval from toil, is generally devoted to their favourite amusement. Instead of remaining in tranquil rest, they undergo more fatigue, or at least more personal exertion, during their gala hours of Saturday night and Sunday, than is demanded from them in labour, during any four days of the week.

‘ They assemble in crowds upon the open green, or in any square or corner of the town, and, forming a ring in the centre of the throng, dance to the sound of their beloved music, and the singing of their favourite African yell. Both music and dance are of a savage nature. The instrumental parts of the band consist of a species of drum, a kind of rattle, and their ever-delighting *banjar*.

' The dance consists of stamping of the feet, twistings of the body, and a number of strange indecent attitudes. It is a severe bodily exertion—more bodily indeed than you can well imagine, for the limbs have little to do in it. The head is held erect, or occasionally inclined a little forward—the hands nearly meet before—the elbows are fixed, pointing from the sides—and the lower extremities being held rigid, the whole person is moved without lifting the feet from the ground. Making the head and limbs fixed points, they writhe and turn the body upon its own axis, slowly advancing towards each other, or retreating to the outer parts of the ring. Their approaches, with the figure of the dance, and the attitudes and inflexions in which they are made, are highly indecent: but of this they seem to be wholly unconscious, for the gravity—I might say the solemnity of countenance, under which all this passes, is peculiarly striking, indeed almost ridiculous. Not a smile—not a significant glance, nor an immodest look escapes from either sex: but they meet, in very indecent attitudes, under the most settled, and unmeaning gravity of countenance. Occasionally they change the figure by stamping upon the feet, or making a more general movement of the person, but they are only temporary variations; the twistings and turnings of the body seeming to constitute the supreme excellence of the dance.

' Both musicians and dancers seem equally to delight in the amusement. They exert themselves until their naked skins pour off copious streams. The band seem to be quite insensible to fatigue, for, in proportion as the fluid distils from their pores, they increase their efforts, raising their voices, and beating the drum and the rattle, with additional violence: and such of the spectators whose olfactories have no relish for African odours, are sadly annoyed by the high essenced exhalation which spreads itself around.

' As I was looking on at one of these dances I observed a soldier's wife, from the north of the Tweed, gazing with curiosity and astonishment, amidst the throng: and seeing her features marked with dissatisfaction and surprise, I asked her what she thought of the African dance. "*Oot*," said she,

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"'tis an unco way o' spending the Sabbath night."—And on my asking her if there were any as pretty woman in the Highlands of Scotland, she instantly replied "*whether or not—they smell better.*"

' Presently a soldier passing that way, and observing the dance, asked a mulatto who was standing by for a cud of tobacco, and twisting it between his lower lip and his teeth, forced his way through the crowd into the middle of the ring; and there placing himself, between the negro and the girl who were dancing, set the nymph in African step and figure. Wow-ski was responsive and they danced cordially together; but soon finished by footing it, in quick step from the ring, happily enfolded in each others' arms; to the great disappointment of poor Sambo, who, no doubt, thought to regain his partner as soon as the soldier had grown tired in the dance.

' Near this happy green happened a sad fracas between a negro man and woman, in consequence of gaming; which is a very prevailing passion among the blacks. The woman had won from the man three dollars, and some words having arisen between them, a scuffle ensued, in which the man had torn off the few clothes that covered the ebon dame, and exposed her in nakedness to the crowd. She in return tore and maltreated his breeches; and the dispute now was whether the woman, having been the successful adventurer, ought not to make reparation for the further injury she had committed.—The man exclaimed with sad violence regarding the additional loss, sustained by the destruction of his indispensable apparel. The woman, putting all success at play out of the question, insisted that she was the injured party from having her petticoat ruined, and being exposed in nudity to the multitude.

' At length a respectable looking, and decently dressed negro, who chanced to pass that way, kindly undertook to settle this important broil; and we observed that much deference was paid to his opinion; but I am not satisfied that he acted quite the part of an upright and impartial judge,—certainly his opinion was not fraught with gallantry, for having no eye of pity towards the distressed and naked nymph, he decided that a hole in the *culottes* was an evil of greater magnitude

than a rent in the *petticoat*, and accordingly decreed that Penelope should forfeit half a dollar to Cassandro, for taking him by the breeches.

‘ Having led you to the merry song, and sprightly dance of the slaves, let me now conduct you to the bed of death.— Seeing a crowd in one of the streets, and observing a kind of procession, we followed the multitude, and soon found ourselves in the train of a negro funeral. Wishing to witness the ceremony of interment we proceeded to the burial ground with the throng. The corpse was conveyed in a neat small hearse, drawn by one horse. Six boys, 12 men, and 48 women, walked behind in pairs as followers, but I cannot say as deeply afflicted mourners. The females were neatly clad for the occasion, and mostly in white. Grief and lamentations were not among them: nor was even the semblance thereof assumed. No solemn dirge was heard—no deep sounding bell was tolled—no fearful silence was held. It seemed a period of mirth and joy. Instead of weeping and bewailing, the followers jumped and sported as they passed along, and talked and laughed with each other in high festivity. The procession was closed by five robust negro fishermen, who followed behind playing antic gambols, and dancing all the way to the grave.

‘ At the gate of the burying ground the corpse was taken from the hearse, and borne by eight negroes, not upon their shoulders, but upon four clean white napkins placed under the coffin. The body was committed to the grave immediately on reaching it, without either prayer or ceremony; and the coffin directly covered with earth. In doing this much decent attention was observed. The mould was not shovelled in roughly with the spade, almost disturbing the dead with the rattling of stones and bones upon the coffin, but was first put into a basket, and then carefully emptied into the grave; an observance which might be adopted in England very much to the comfort of the afflicted friends of the deceased.

‘ During this process an old negro woman chaunted an African air, and the multitude joined in chorus. It was not in the strain of a hymn, or solemn requiem, but was loud and lively, in unison with the other gaieties of the occasion.

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‘ Many were laughing and sporting the whole time with the fishermen, who danced and gambolled during the ceremony upon the neighbouring graves. From the moment the coffin was committed to the earth, nothing of order was maintained by the party. The attendants dispersed in various directions, retiring or remaining during the filling up of the grave, as inclination seemed to lead.

‘ When the whole of the earth was replaced several of the women, who had staid to chaunt in merry song over poor Jenny’s clay, took up a handful of the mould, and threw it down again upon the grave of their departed friend, as the finishing of the ceremony, crying aloud “ *God bless you, Jenny! good-by! remember me to all friends & other side of the sea, Jenny! Tell ’em me come soon! Good-by, Jenny, good-by! See for send me good - - - to night, Jenny! Good-by, good night, Jenny, good-by!*” All this was uttered in mirth and laughter, and accompanied with attitudes and gesticulations expressive of any thing but sorrow or sadness.

‘ The faith of these poor ignorant slaves, regarding a happy transmigration after death, would seem calculated to lead them to the crime of suicide; and, accordingly, this effect of their superstition is said not to have been unfrequent among them. A tale is told of a singular remedy having been practised against this fatal expedient of the negro. Several individuals of a gang having hanged themselves to escape from a cruel master, and others being about to avoid his severities by similar means, he prevented them, by the happy expedient of threatening to hang himself also, and to transmigrate with them, carrying the whip in his hand, into their own country; where he would punish them ten times more severely than he had hitherto done. The stratagem is said to have succeeded. Finding they could not, thus, escape from the tyrannic lash, they resolved, rather than receive disgraceful stripes among their African friends, to continue their existence under all the hardships of slavery.

‘ *Barbadoes, February.*

‘ WE have made a ride about four miles into the country, to dine with one of our professional brethren, Dr. Hinde,

a man of high acquirements and sound knowledge. The doctor's estate is situated upon much higher grounds than the immediate environs of Bridge Town; the country rising towards the interior of the island, in elevated ranges of distinct table-land.

'The land is cultivated in open field—hedges, walls, and all the usual fences seem to be unknown: nor does the eye discover any distinct separation of the different estates; but it ranges uninterrupted over a wide-extended surface, richly spread with the various productions of a tropical soil, and pleasantly interspersed with the mansions of the whites, and the huts of the negroes. Cotton, pigeon peas, and Guinea corn, constitute the great produce of this part of the island.—Some fields of aloes and of plantains were also seen: but there appeared a degree of nakedness from the want of wood, of which there is not a sufficiency to give a general richness to the landscape, although about the great *backra*-houses there are several fine groves of the cocoa-nut and the majestic mountain-cabbage trees.

'It is common at the plantations to allot a small piece of ground, at a short distance from the house, to the use of the negroes, and this is called the negro-yard. Here the slaves are allowed to build themselves small huts to live in, which are commonly of very coarse construction, and are dark, close, and smoky; but some of the negro-yards are neat, roomy, and picturesque. At these places it is usual for the slaves to plant fruits and vegetables, and to raise stock. Some of them keep a pig, some a goat, some Guinea fowls, ducks, chickens, pigeons, or the like; and at one of the huts at Spendlove, we saw a pig, a goat, a young kid, some pigeons, and some chickens, all the property of an individual slave.—This is mere indulgence, but it gratifies and amuses the negroes, and becomes in various ways highly useful. The little garden, and their stock, not only afford them occupation and amusement for their leisure moments, but create a certain degree of interest in their spot, and excite feelings of attachment towards the master, who both grants and protects the indulgence. The negro-yard, viewed from a short distance, forms an object of

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highly interesting and picturesque scenery ;—it comprizes all the little huts, intermixed with, and more or less concealed by the variety of shrubs and fruit trees, which kindly lend their shade ; likewise the many small patches of garden ground around them, and the different species of stock, some appearing in pens, some tied by the leg, or the neck, and some running at large ; and if it be evening, you have also the crowd of negroes, male and female, as they chance to be seen, at rest, or moving in busy occupation, some passing from hut to hut, some dancing to their favourite music, some sitting at the door with the pipe in their mouths, and others smoking their loved segar under the broad leaf of the plantain. The picture is also further enlivened by the groups of little black children ;—some running and skipping about, some seated, playing before the doors in Nature's ebon dress, and some, unable to walk, attempting little pedestrian excursions upon their hands and feet. Perhaps within so small a space, few scenes could offer so much interest to a contemplative mind ; or to aid the pencil of a painter of the picturesque.

‘ Independent of their own provisions, either raised or purchased, each negro has his weekly allowance issued to him, every Sunday, from the estate ; and hence they are at liberty to take the whole of their own private stock to market, and to procure whatever additional comforts they prefer with the money it produces ; and perhaps it will seem strange to you when I tell you that the markets of the island depend almost wholly upon this mode of supply. They are all held weekly, and upon the Sunday ; that being the day when the negroes are free from labour, and have leisure to attend.’

‘ In another excursion,’ says our author, ‘ we saw great numbers of mountain-cabbage trees, which were said to be of a peculiar kind, and different from all others in the island.—This magnificent palm is unquestionably the finest tree that grows. From words, or drawings, you can only collect an imperfect idea of it. To comprehend the fine symmetry, its grandeur, and majestic loftiness, it must be seen. Its trunk is very smooth, and almost regularly cylindrical, rising into a

superb and stately pillar, resembling a well-hewn column of stone. At the base its circumference is somewhat greater than at any other part, yet lessening so gradually upwards, as to preserve the most just and accurate proportion. Not a single branch, nor even the slightest twig, interrupts the general harmony of the trunk, which often rises, in a correct perpendicular, to the height of from 60 to 100 feet, and then spreads its palmated foliage into a wide and beautifully radiated circle. Branches it has none, but the fine expansive leaves, shooting immediately from the summit of the stately trunk, extend around it, crowning, and, as it were, protecting the massy column, in form of a full expanded umbrella.

‘It will perhaps occur to you that our noble English oak, with all its rude and crooked limbs, must be a more picturesque object. So it is, and so is likewise the wide-spreading silk-cotton: but the loftiness, the stately grandeur, the exact proportion, and the deep-shading foliage of the mountain-cabbage are unequalled, and, in their happy combination, crown this tree the king of the forest—the most exalted of the vegetable world.

‘When planted in avenues it forms a grand and imposing approach to a dwelling, conveying an air of greatness to the mansion it adorns. It grows free from decay to a very old age, but cannot be converted to the useful purposes of timber. It is a tree of state, calculated to enrich and augment the magnificence of a palace: nor let it detract from its majestic qualities to know that, after all, it is but ----- a cabbage tree! Its loftiest summit is a spiral succulent shoot, the sides of which, by gradually and successively unfolding, form the fine wide-spreading foliage. Before this opens to expand itself around, it is a congeries of young and tender leaves, and is often boiled and brought to table as a cabbage, of which it is the very best kind I ever remember to have tasted. It is also used, without boiling, by way of salad, and is then eaten with oil and vinegar; and so highly is it esteemed for these culinary purposes, that too often a very fine tree has been devoted to the axe, merely because no other means could be found of obtaining from its towering summit this most excellent cabbage.’

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Our author pays a just tribute of praise to the Barbadian gentlemen, who attended them during this excursion. 'Never,' says he, 'was hospitality evinced with more friendly urbanity. No attention was forgotten to render every thing comfortable and agreeable to us: no care was omitted to promote or forward our gratification. It seemed the object of all to offer us every possible accommodation, and to bring us acquainted, in the happiest manner, with the country and its inhabitants. We felt infinitely less of fatigue than might have been expected, from the great distance we had journeyed, and from the length of time we were exposed to the heat and exercise; and the only alloy which in any degree interrupted our enjoyment throughout this grateful day, was a sense of suffering of which we could not wholly divest ourselves concerning the poor slaves, who had to support on foot the very same journey which in us was regarded as a surprizing exertion on horseback.

'In the course of the day we repeatedly made compassionate appeals to the gentlemen of the island concerning them, but they as constantly assured us that our pity was misplaced, adding that they were accustomed to the exercise, and would suffer far less fatigue than ourselves. Still our European feelings forced upon us the wish that either they had been accommodated with mules, or we had dispensed with their attendance; and it will require a much longer residence, amidst this new order of things, before we shall be able to persuade ourselves that our sense of disquietude was only a misplaced humanity.

' Barbadoes, February.

'We still remain without any accurate intelligence respecting the great body of our convoy: and, having no tidings of the commander-in-chief, we continue in equal uncertainty when we may proceed to our original destination at St. Domingo. All here is suspense and anxiety. The solicitude of the mercantile world is not less than that of the military. No packet is arrived; the affairs of commerce are interrupted; we have no news of Europe or the war, and all seems shut in ig-



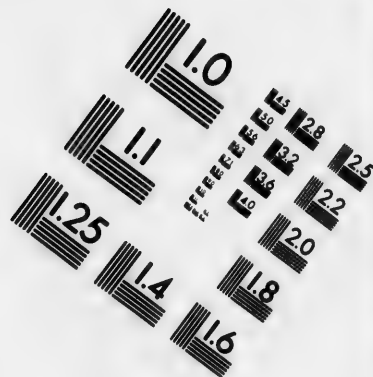
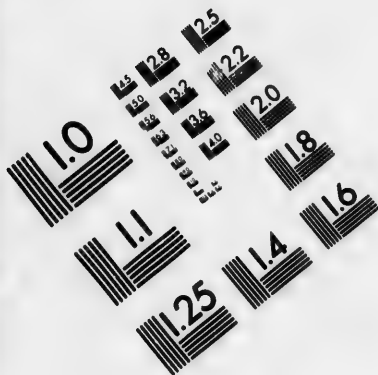
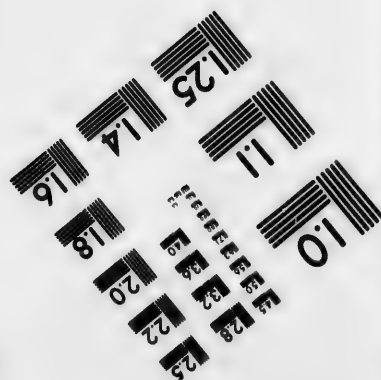
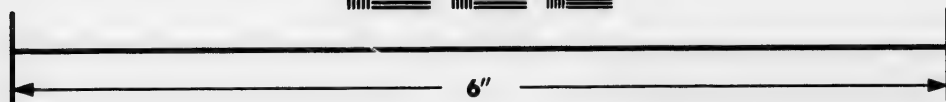
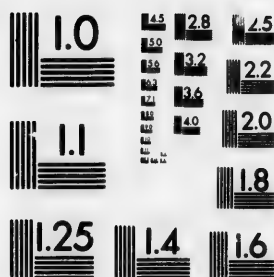


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norance, or absorbed in painful uncertainty. Straggling vessels of our disastrous fleet continue to arrive; and from these we catch with eagerness every report, but still without acquiring any thing satisfactory. Some separated one day; some another; and some another: but with respect to the actual state of the convoy all is still enveloped in doubt and incertitude.

‘ Unhappily the finest season is passing away—and before the whole army can have arrived, and be brought into action, the rainy period will be fast approaching; but, as many of the men already here are in a sickly state, we hope the delay may prove beneficial to them, by affording them an opportunity of recovering from the ills of the voyage, and of their long confinement on board, before they enter upon the fatigues of the campaign.

‘ The captains of the Guineamen often relieve their ships’ company from the duty of the boat, by training some of their black cargo to the use of the oar.—Indeed so useful do many of the negroes become, during the passage, and the time they are detained on board, that their assistance is of much service in working the vessel. We occasionally see the master of a slave ship rowed ashore by four of his naked Africans, who appear as dexterous in the management of the boat, as if they had been for years accustomed to it.

‘ Often we observe the captains parading the streets, accompanied by parties of their prime slaves—apparently with the intention of exhibiting them to the eye of the public, in sound state and good condition. This contributes, at the same time, to the health and amusement of these poor beings, who seem delighted at feeling their feet on shore, and, in due obedience to their captain, dance and frolic as they go along, either in real, or in well dissembled contentment and happiness.

‘ We have an encampment of negroes formed near to Bridge Town, upon a spot called Constitution-hill. They are a fine body of men, who have been enlisted from the revolted French islands, or brought away on the evacuation of them by our troops. They are active and expert, and are training into a formidable corps to assist in our intended expe-

ditions. About sixteen hundred of them bear arms; besides whom there are twelve hundred to be employed as pioneers. They have all the vivacity and levity of the French character about them; and it, occasionally, affords us amusement to observe the Barbadoes negroes regard them with evident amazement, gaping with wonder at their volatility and alertness. John Bull differs not more widely from a Parisian *petit-maitre* than many of the Barbadoes slaves from the *sable fops* of this sprightly corps.

‘ Among the novelties which meet the eye of an European upon his arrival at Barbadoes, or probably in any of the West Indian islands, is the practice of carrying the children across the hip, instead of seating them upon the arm. The lower class of women in Barbadoes have adopted this custom, from the example of the negroes, among whom it seems to be the universal mode of nursing; and, perhaps, it would admit of argument, whether this method be not preferable to the European custom of carrying them upon the arm. Seated upon the hip, the infant soon learns to cling, and in a great measure to support itself; but, placed upon the arm, it must always remain a helpless or dead weight upon the mother, being without the power of assisting itself, or relieving its position. Further, it is so conveniently placed when upon the hip, that the mother can support it with much greater facility, for by only putting the arm behind it, the child can lie back, or rest and change its posture in various ways: thus the weight becomes less fatiguing to the mother, and perhaps less injurious to the infant; for at this tender age the long bones of the thigh, not being firmly ossified, are liable to yield, and a degree of deformity may be induced, from their being made to bear the whole weight of the body, at long and frequent periods, upon so narrow a seat as the arm.

‘ Trivial as this subject might appear to some, it is worthy the serious consideration of British mothers and nurses. A deformed negro is a very rare object, and this may probably be attributed, in a great measure, to the manner of nursing them in their infancy; for, besides the better mode of carrying them, they have the further advantage of being allowed to crawl about

upon their hands and feet, in perfect freedom, unrestrained by ligatures, or tight garments.

‘ Although I have observed the mode of carrying children upon the hip to be the common method of nursing among the slaves, yet, when they have to carry them to a great distance, they neither place them upon the hip, nor the arm, but upon the back; and I have, frequently, been surprized to observe by what slight support they secure them in this situation. A mere pocket handkerchief tied carelessly round the mother, often forms all their seat and all their safety!

‘ A few evenings ago I had the afflicting opportunity of witnessing a scene of cruelty, which strongly exemplified the abject and wretchedly humiliating condition to which human beings are subjected in a life of slavery. I happened to be waiting upon the quay for the Lord Sheffield’s boat, in order to return on board, when two men, apparently white creoles, came up, and seized a negro who was standing by me, accusing him of having run away from his master. The poor black assured them that he had no master,—that he belonged to Mrs. ———, that he was well known in the town,—and that they must certainly have mistaken his person; and, upon these grounds, urged the impropriety of their taking him to prison. But regardless of his remonstrances and of their own error, they tied him with a heavy cord, fastened his hands, and forced him towards the place of confinement! Curiosity led me to follow them. The poor man still pleaded his innocence, and the mistake they had committed, begging and praying to be allowed to refer them to his mistress, or to another family in the town, to identify his person. Headless of his protestations and entreaties they still dragged him on, and from his only expressing a reluctance at being thus unjustly hurried to a prison, one of these hardened wretches struck him a violent blow on the head, with a large stick, calling out to the other, in broad Barbadoes accent, “Daa-am him, cut him down.”

‘ A little before they reached the prison they had to pass a door-way where there happened to be a strong light, by means of which one of these cruel instruments of the law of *force* instantly recognized the poor ill-treated slave, and finding that

they were actually guilty of the mistake which the negro had stated, he called out to his savage comrade, who had struck the helpless black upon the head, "Daa-am him, I know the fellow, we must let him go," upon which they both with horrid imprecations, ordered him to stand *without stirring* while they should untie him; and, upon his only moving his arm to expedite the loosening of the cord, they swore that if he dared "to stir, or look savage," they would "cut him down," or put him "directly into prison." Such was the compensation dealt him for the unjust and cruel treatment he had already received. The wretches not only dragged the poor unoffending slave to a prison, in defiance of his solemn assurances of their having mistaken his person, and without allowing him an appeal to any one who knew him, but, because he ventured to say that they were committing an error, had the inhumanity to strike him with a force sufficient to have fractured his skull, and to threaten him with the further severity of death, or a dungeon, should he dare to express only a *look* of displeasure.

‘What must have been the feelings of this injured man, who, after being abused and mal-treated, was further put in fear of his life, should he only permit nature to assume her seat on his brow,—should the cruelty, pain, and injustice he had suffered, only cause a mark of disapprobation to appear upon his countenance? But Nature, however proscribed, was not to be restrained by such command! While the power of memory remains to me I can never—*never* forget the indignant, but hopeless expression of injury which overspread the features of this poor slave, as he retired!—He felt aggrieved, and was conscious that he had no remedy,—no appeal!

‘*Barbadoes, March 15.*

‘I now take up my pen to you after making a visit to the senate house, and being present at a sitting of the general assembly of the island. The proceedings were conducted according to the routine of the house of commons, which the assembly regards as its model. The representatives like ours are returned from the provinces, two, not indeed from each

county, but from each parish; and, there being 11 parishes in the island, the assembly consequently consists of 22 members.

‘As in our house so in theirs, the person who presides is denominated—“the speaker”—the *hearer* had perhaps been more correct, as he happens to be the only person who is precluded from speaking in the debate, and is appointed for the express purpose of hearing all others, who through him address their arguments to the house.

‘Among the members we recognized several of the gentlemen whom we had seen in our excursion into the country. It did not happen to be a sitting of great interest to strangers, there being but little before the house for discussion, and consequently few debates. Reading and passing a militia act, and some other bills, constituted nearly the whole business of the meeting. One part of the proceedings, however, we thought to be strictly in the ----- *order of the day*. It was excessively warm, and we were sadly parching with thirst, when two persons suddenly appeared with a large bowl, and a two quart glass filled with punch and sangaree. These were presented to “Mr. Speaker,” who, after dipping deep into the bowl, passed it among the members: nor was the audience forgotten, for we were most gratefully taught that the hospitality, so universal in the island, lies even in the senate. The glass was handed up to us, and we found that it was correctly *in order* for strangers to join in this part of the debate. It came at a moment peculiarly opportune, and we drank deeply and cordially to our friends, and the house of assembly.

‘What hurry, confusion, and solicitude! a packet has at length arrived! From the 9th of December to the 16th of March have we been separated from you without hearing one word of our friends, or scarcely of our country. How shall I convey to you any just idea of the scene this day has produced by the impatient multitude crowding in anxious eagerness to obtain letters, to see the papers, and to hear the news!

‘Early in the morning a signal appeared at the fort, implying that a vessel was in sight. Soon afterwards, this was

lowered down, and the packet signal hoisted in its place; when instead of the pleasing expectation of seeing a vessel of our fleet, and learning news of the convoy, all were on tiptoe in the still more lively hope of hearing news, not only of our unfortunate armada, but of Europe, of England, and our friends! Concerning the fleet we had grown quite weary of conjecture, and now saw it probable that we might obtain more accurate intelligence respecting it, by way of England, than by any ship which had been separated from it upon the passage.

‘On the packet making the harbour it caused a crowd not unlike what you may have seen at a sailing or rowing match of boats upon the Thames. Each wishing to be first, and all being anxious to learn the news, the vessel was beset on every quarter before she could come to anchor, and the whole bay became one animated scene of crowded ships and moving boats. Many who could not go to the packet as she entered the harbour, repaired on shore to be ready there to meet the news. The people of the town also thronged the beach in anxious multitudes. All was busy expectation. Impatience scarcely allowed the bags to reach the office: every avenue to which was so closely blockaded that the house was quite in a state of siege, and the post-master and his mansion in danger of being taken by storm.

‘It was about 11 o’clock when the inspector-general, Dr. Master, and myself, followed the common impulse, went to inquire for our letters and papers; but we could only advance within sight of the post-office walls,—to approach the door was utterly impossible. Finding the crowd to be still so deep, we rambled about the town, and made calls upon various persons in order to glean the news.

‘Seeing no prospect of ascertaining whether we had any letters, we returned from the hot and crowded town to take our dinners quietly on board, and to enjoy the high feast of reading the papers, which our obliging and attentive friend, Mr. Hinde, had kindly allowed us to put into our pockets. You will believe that this formed a most exquisite dessert after

our meal, and was of more grateful flavour than all the fruits and sweets of a tropical soil.

‘ From the papers it is ascertained that the great body of the convoy, with our commander-in-chief and the admiral, are returned to St. Helen’s, after continuing seven tedious weeks at sea, beating against contrary winds and destructive storms, and that many of the ships which had separated had previously put back to Cork, Kinsale, Plymouth, and various other ports. This is very distressing and vexatious news, for it robs us of the pleasing hope with which we had daily looked out for our comrades, and tell us that all still remains --- to be done again! Twice has this great expedition put to sea, and during many months has it been daily expected to arrive: yet after a long and vivid suspense do we now learn that it is still in an English harbour, only preparing to sail!

‘ *Barbadoes, March 17.*

‘ How eventful are the hours which now pass before us! The sons of St. Patrick have not felt themselves more blessed, nor hailed in more joyous greetings this hallowed day than the anxious multitude at Barbadoes. It was only yesterday that I took up my pen to announce to you a glad arrival, and I have now to mention one still more happy. Before breakfast this morning a signal appeared at the fort, implying that a ship of war was in sight; and about eight o’clock a proud frigate, with sails swelling to the breeze, cut her liquid path silently into the bay, and dropped her anchor in the midst of the fleet. A general feeling of joy instantly spread throughout the harbour. It was the *Arethusa*, with sir Ralph Abercromby, and the officers of his staff on board. A signal was made from the agent, and all the ships in the bay immediately manned their yards and rigging to hail and to welcome, in loud salutation, our long expected commander-in-chief. Three heart-felt cheers were rapturously shouted from every vessel, and as cordially echoed by the *Arethusa*’s company.

‘ The scene thus introduced was novel and peculiar. It was also highly interesting. The yards, the tops, the masts

and rigging of all the vessels being covered with men, they resembled clusters of bees, as they hang about the hive at the moment previous to swarming. Each ship was indeed a hive of men, but it was without drones, for all were equally industrious in greeting the arrival of the "king bee" among them.

'Crowded with yards and masts the harbour resembled a thick forest—the leaves of which were men, not rustling in the wind, but set in motion by the more animating breeze of joy and gratulation.—Loud shouts of welcome resounded throughout the bay, and when the general went off in the boat towards the landing place, each ship repeated three cheers as he passed—the multitude upon the beach again shouting his welcome as he stepped on shore. At reaching the government house at Pilgrim he was received with a salute of 21 guns. The same number was then repeated from the fort, which we had remarked did not fire any salute when the frigate entered the harbour.

'All is now life and activity. An impulsive sensation vibrates throughout the bay. Every breast throbs with ardour, and, inspired by the presence of the commander-in-chief, every one looks forward to a successful campaign. No one imagines that fate has destined him to fall; but each anticipates the joyous moment, when he shall return to relate histories of battles won, and islands conquered, to his friends in peaceful England.—Yet, alas! to how few is it allotted again to visit either England or their friends! But to such reflections let me be silent: to speak them were unmilitary!

'In his third attempt to reach the islands the commander-in-chief has been very successful; the *Arethusa* having sailed only on the 14th of February, and consequently made the voyage in thirty days. The general takes up his abode at a large building a little way out of the town, called the King's house, which is to be made the head-quarters, during the assembling of the troops, and the continuance of the army at Barbadoes.

'We find that the Cork fleet has unquestionably been for several weeks at sea, and may be daily expected; the *Arethusa* having spoken several of the ships of that convoy upon her

passage. At the time the *Arethusa* came into the bay two other ships appeared in sight: they are since arrived, and prove to be the General Cuyler merchantman, of our division, (long supposed to be lost), and the Clarendon transport of the Cork division:—their arrival, and the reported approach of the Cork fleet, add to the auspicious events of St Patrick's day.

'The safety of the General Cuyler spread consolation among us, and very much augmented the great and general joy diffused by the arrival of the commander-in-chief: it had obtained universal belief that this ship was lost at sea, or at best taken by the enemy. She had sailed with us on the 9th of December, and was the last ship we had spoken in the European seas, which was on the 4th of January; when only three days after we had hailed her, she sprung a leak, and during twenty succeeding days, was only kept from sinking by the persevering toil and exertions of the ship's company and the passengers, all of whom took their regular watch at the pumps, for six or eight hours each day. With great difficulty she was kept afloat: daily their peril increased; and for nearly three weeks they had only the melancholy prospect of going to the bottom, before they could possibly make any port. Almost exhausted with fatigue and apprehension, the hope of being saved had nearly abandoned them, when fortunately they made one of the Canary islands.

'The Dutch are said to have a mode of punishment somewhat resembling this very dangerous and afflicting situation, although infinitely removed from it, on account of the person who is exposed to it knowing a certain means of saving himself, provided he has enough of industry to continue his exertions. The prisoner is confined in a room, into which water is made constantly to flow, so increasing in depth that he must inevitably be drowned if he is idle: but if he will be industrious and persevere at the pump, he knows that a certain proportion of labour will keep down the water and preserve his life. Surely none but the amphibious and toiling Hollanders could have invented such a punishment—such an aquatic remedy! although it must be allowed to be a most excellent one against idleness.'

Single ships belonging to the Cork convoy continued to arrive, but no tidings of the fleet could be obtained, only that the greater part had put back into Cork harbour. On the 1st of April the signal of alarm was hoisted at the battery, but as the strangers approached it was discovered that they were neither foes nor Portsmouth friends. 'On this occasion,' says our author, 'as on many, we were both pleased and surprized to observe the acuteness of our men of the ocean in discovering the nature and extent of a distant fleet at sea. Before *we* could well distinguish a ship from a brig, our tars from the cut of the sails proclaimed it an English convoy, but not that of admiral Cornwallis. From the mode of setting the canvas, from the form of the ship, the figure of the masts, or some slight circumstance attaching to different vessels, but totally imperceptible to us, they had no hesitation in declaring, while yet at a great distance, that instead of the fleet from Spithead, it was our long-wished for convoy from Cork.

'To us this was even better and still more joyful news, and we had soon the gratification of finding it correct. The whole fleet is now at anchor in the bay, and has brought to us a large body of troops destined for St. Domingo, under the command of general Whyte. This being peculiarly our division of the expedition, we had twofold pleasure in greeting its arrival. In our gladness to hail it, we climbed the shrouds up to the main-top—and there stood to view its entrance into the bay.

'Such a scene must have been highly interesting, even had it been wholly independent of the intimate connection we had with it: the day was fine—the breeze soft and mild, and the surface of the water gently moving. The picture was rich and varied: comprehending, under a bird's-eye-view, the town, and neighbouring plantations—the bay crowded with shipping—a great extent of the fine country around—and the wide ocean, together with the numerous vessels of our desired convoy dropping with full sails into the harbour.

'This fleet, which had been so often reported at sea, even so long since as before we left England, and which did once sail and return to harbour, finally took its departure from Cove

on the 25th of February: hence it may, at last, be considered to have made a very favourable passage, having been precisely five weeks at sea.

‘ *Barbadoes, April.*

‘ INDOLENCE is considered to be the general effect of excessive heat of climate; but the first effect of the heat seems to be that of stimulating the rigid northern fibre into increased activity—and Creole inertness follows only as the result of continued residence.

‘ We have, for some days past, been closely watching one of our sailors—a Dutchman. He is recently from Holland, and in manners and appearance *un vrai Batave*. On the passage he was a dull, heavy, slow, and plodding Dutchman—frigid and inanimate as the most icy boor of his aquatic nation. His movements were a pretty accurate representation of the crawling sloth, and unvaried sedateness of his visage no less emblematical of his native home.

‘ Having particularly noticed him throughout the voyage, we feel some surprize in now witnessing, as it were, a complete revolution of his nature and habits. The rays of a tropical sun seem to have given play to his muscles, set free all the circulating juices of his frame, and unfrozen the icy coldness of his soul. The change we observe in him is indeed greater than you can imagine: roused from the torpor of unheeding sameness, by the all-vivifying power of tropical warmth, the cold cloud of indifference is dissipated from his brow—and the Batavian gluten of his frame sublimed into volatile spirits. He is grown cheerful and gay; wears a smile of mirth upon his countenance, and moves with an agility and alertness, beyond all that could have been hoped in a Dutchman. He now skips merrily about the ship; pulls his oar with glee in the boat; and on all occasions appears animated and lively; vying in spirits and activity with the sprightliest tar of the ship.

‘ Having from time to time detailed to you, in all of desultory remark, the whole chain of circumstances that have passed under my eye, you will not perhaps deem it premature, should I now offer you a few general observations concerning the island of Barbadoes.

‘ From the situation of the West India islands in the Atlantic ocean, extending in the form of a semicircle, nearly from the coast of Florida to the river Orinoko, it might seem that, at some remote period, they had been detached from the great continent of America, either by the gradual and progressive power of the ocean, or by some great and sudden convulsion of nature. But from their being of very irregular and mountainous surface, while the land of the proximate shore is peculiarly low and flat, to a distance of many miles from the coast, it would appear that the islands and the main land owned a distinct and very different origin. The craggy shores, and rugged broken figure of the islands, bespeak the convulsive throes of a sudden birth; while the smooth and muddy surface of the opposite coast indicates a less disturbed and slower beginning. Probably the latter has been formed from the gradual deposit of a feculent ocean—the former from the vehement vomitings of volcanic eruption.

‘ Barbadoes is the most windward of the West India islands; and is in that division of them known by the appellation of Caribbee islands—a name they have obtained from one of the nations of Indians, who formerly inhabited them.

‘ It is about 21 miles in length, by 14 in breadth; lying in latitude 13 deg. north, longitude 59 deg. west. The English have occupied it nearly two centuries, having taken possession of it in the reign of James I. At the time of being settled by our countrymen it was covered with wood, and had no appearance of having been before occupied by man; but it now appears under a very different aspect,—the destructive axe having converted its deep and heavy forests into even characteristic nakedness.

‘ It is considered as an old island, and, from having been long in cultivation, is said to be much exhausted and wearing to decay. Those concerned in the culture of more recent and now more prolific colonies, seem to compassionate Barbadoes as the venerable and decrepit parent of the race; while its inhabitants pride themselves upon its antiquity, and, like the feudal lords of still more ancient states, assume a consequence, I might almost say claim hereditary rank and privilege from

priority of establishment. This sense of distinction is strongly manifested in the sentiment conveyed by the vulgar expression so common in the island—"neither Carib, nor Creole, but true Barbadian," and which is participated even by the slaves, who proudly arrogate a superiority above the negroes of the other islands! Ask one of them if he was imported, or is a creole, and he immediately replies—" *Me noder Chrab, nor Creole, Massa!—me troo Barbadian born!*"

' Perhaps the late decline of this island may be still less the effect of exhaustion of the soil, than of the extensive emigrations, and the diversion of commerce consequent on the cultivation of new islands and colonies. In the early period of its culture Barbadoes yielded a produce, and gave rise to an extent of commerce, not known in any other island, and its population increased to a degree perhaps unprecedented in any part of the globe. Within the first fifty years the trade of the island had become sufficient to employ 400 sail of shipping; and the number of inhabitants amounted to no less than 100,000, being upwards of 500 to every square miles.

' At this day the colonies of Guiana are a continual drain upon the population of Barbadoes. But notwithstanding its decline from what it once was, it is still the most populous and one of the most important of our West India possessions. From situation, and from its fine bay for shipping, even independent of its produce, it must ever be valuable to us, and indeed may be considered as the key to the West Indies. Some of the creoles of the island, not barely sensible of this, commit the excess of attaching to it a degree of importance beyond even England itself.—" *What would poor England do,*" say they, "*were Barbadoes to forsake her?*" This adage you will believe expresses only the veneration of the illiterate; but you will admit that it arises from a very natural feeling; for those who have seen but one spot readily fancy that to be of the first importance! And there are multitudes in Barbadoes who never saw any other soil, and who, no doubt, from the same laudable sentiment which we so honour in Britons, regard their native isle as pre-eminent above all others.

‘ If in point of produce Barbadoes now yields to other settlements—if its thick woods have fallen before the rueful axe—and if its mountains are less aspiring than the towering summits of some of the neighbouring islands; still its trade and produce continue to be important; its population great; and the picturesque scenery of its surface perhaps unrivalled. Nor are these its only advantages; for, in consequence of being more cleared and more generally cultivated than the other islands, its temperature is more equable, and its air more salubrious. Damp woods do not interrupt, nor stagnant morasses empoison the breeze. Every part is exposed to the full perfusion of the trade-wind; by the coolness and salubrity of which, this is rendered the most healthful of the islands; in-somuch that it is common, in sickness, to make a voyage from the other colonies to Barbadoes, as the Montpellier of the West Indies. Being situated to windward of the other islands, it receives the uninterrupted breeze, brought to it in all its purity immediately from a wide extent of ocean, unimpregnated by the septic exhalations of stagnant waters, or polluted soils.—Its temperature has been far less inconvenient than we had expected. We have felt but little oppression from heat; and have continued our habits of exercise without interruption. In the harbour, and placed in the shade, the thermometer has seldom been higher than 84, and at no time has exceeded 86 degrees.

‘ Yet as the island is in its exemption from excessive heat, from noxious miasmata, and from great and general sickness, it has its peculiar ills: being visited with an endemial affliction, so much its own as to have obtained the appellation of *the Barbadoes disease*. It appears in form of the elephantiasis, or what is here termed the “glandular disease,”—and is a most unsightly and distressful malady.

‘ Bridge Town is the capital of the island, and is situated on the S. W. bank of Carlisle bay, which is one of the finest harbours for shipping in the West Indies; but it is not considered to be safe during the hurricane season. It receives its name from the circumstance of a royal grant of the island having formerly been made to the earl of Carlisle. The other towns

are Speights Town, Austin Town, and Hole Town, all of which are much inferior to Bridge Town.

‘ The seasons here are not divided into winter and summer, but into wet and dry : yet they are by no means what many from these terms would believe, who might imagine that half the year is drowned with incessant rain, and the other half parched with constant drought. Such a construction of the terms *wet* season, and *dry* season, though not unfrequent, is far from correct, and leads to a very inaccurate idea of the climate ; for, although it has been the dry season, during the whole time we have been at Barbadoes, we have scarcely had two successive days without refreshing rain ; although the showers are not so heavy at this period as at that of their greater frequency, termed the wet season, when the torrent which falls might often convey the idea of a sudden rupture of the clouds, letting forth their waters *in streams* to the earth.

‘ The sudden evaporation which succeeds to rain in these climates creates a most agreeable and refreshing coolness. The extreme ardour of the sun’s rays is also counteracted by the the ever-grateful breeze, which sets in from the sea about eight or nine o’clock in the morning, and continues throughout the day, ceasing only as the sun forsakes us at evening ; when we are again defended from oppressive languor by a breeze springing up from the land. This sets in as the sea-breeze subsides, and diverging, as it were from a central point, is felt on all quarters of the island.

‘ April 8.

‘ The uniform returns of day and night in this climate appear to induce a regularity of habit in the hours of rising, and going to rest. It is common to leave the pillow at six in the morning, and few persons remain out of bed after eleven at night. The coolest and most pleasant part of the day is from six to about half-past seven o’clock in the morning : about eight an oppressive closeness is often experienced, arising from the decline of the land breeze, before that from the sea has become sufficiently strong to diffuse its influence. A similar period likewise occurs at evening, between the abatement of

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the sea breeze and the setting in of the breeze from the land. Some days the closeness of these hours is so light, as to be scarcely perceptible, but commonly they are by far the most oppressive of the twenty-four.

‘Respecting the mode of living it may be remarked that in all countries said to be civilized, and among all people calling themselves cultivated, too much of time and attention are devoted to the business of eating and drinking. Perhaps the majority of diseases in social life may be traced to this source. Were it possible to convey in a single sentence the frightful train of ills, the melancholy interruptions of health, and the immense consumption of time thus produced, men would be shocked to read it! They would be terrified to behold the magnitude of an abuse, to which, unheeding, they had so long been devoted. This remark but too correctly applies to the island from whence I am addressing you, and where, from the degree of indolence induced by tropical heat, the ingesta taken to excess may be expected in a peculiar degree to oppress the human frame.

‘The people of Barbadoes are much addicted to the pleasures of the table. We have often thought that, in eating, they might put to the blush even the turtle countenances of our London fat citizens.

‘The breakfast usually consists of tea and coffee, or chocolate, with eggs, ham, tongue, or other cold meat. Bread is seldom used, but substitutes are found in roasted yams or eddoes, both of which a good deal resemble roasted potatoes. They are used hot, and eaten with butter, which is sometimes made in the country, but more frequently barrelled and brought from Ireland; that made in the island being of cream-like softness, and not always of good flavour. In the course of the forenoon are used fruits, or sandwiches, with free libations of punch and sangaree. Immediately preceding dinner, which is usually at an early hour, are taken punch and mandram. The dinner, for the most part, is profuse, and many hours are commonly passed at table in full and busy occupation.

‘After a more than plentiful consumption of food, a free indulgence in fruit, and a bounteous supply of wine and other

good liquors, to crown the repast, the appetite and thirst are further provoked by a dish of sprats, or other broiled fish, and a large bowl of milk and punch. Tea and coffee are next served—and lastly comes the supper, which forms no trifling meal. After this the bottle, the glass, and the punch bowl know no rest, until the silent hour when Morpheus, with rival powers, dethrones the Bacchanalian god.

‘ From the nature of the climate we had expected to have found the inhabitants men of meagre figure, half dissolved in perspiration, and exhausted almost to shadows; nor, indeed, are such figures rare, but they are to be found mostly among the clerks, the book-keepers, and those orders of white people below the managers—those who are employed in active and busy occupation, and have but little time to devote to indolence and the luxuries of the table. Among the merchants and planters are many of as fat and portly figure as well-fed aldermen; to whom, indeed, they are scarcely second in Epicurean devotion.

‘ We observe that condiments are used very generally, and in great quantity. Acting as stimulants they appear to have the effect of causing the relaxed and enfeebled stomach to receive and to digest more than it would, otherwise, require—more indeed than it would, otherwise, take. The various species of red pepper, known in England under the common term *Cayenne*, are used in quantities that would seem incredible to people of colder climates.

‘ A mixture of food is often taken, of a nature scarcely less heterogeneous than is commonly consumed at the varied feast of a French appetite; and with this melange of solids are used wine, punch, porter, cyder, noyeau, and other good liquors in free libation—yet are there specimens of health and vigour, amidst all these indulgences, which might stagger the doctrines of the advocates of abstemiousness.

‘ In the order of the feast plenty more prevails than elegance. The loaded board groans, nay almost sinks beneath the weight of hospitality.

‘ The repast not unfrequently consists of different kinds of fish—a variety of soups—a young kid—a whole lamb, or half

a sheep—several dishes of beef, or mutton—a turkey—a large ham—guinea fowls—and a pigeon pie; with various kinds of puddings; a profusion of vegetables; and multitudes of sweets. I was lately one of a small party, where precisely this dinner was served, and where the half of a sheep, kicking its legs almost in the face of the master of the house, adorned the bottom of the table—forming the most unseemly dish I ever beheld.

‘The too prevalent English custom of *sending away* the ladies, or, according to the politer term, of the ladies *retiring* after dinner, for the gentlemen *to enjoy* their bottle, prevails also at Barbadoes; and, we have thought, even to a greater extreme than in England. They leave us very soon after dinner, and often we see no more of them during the evening. Frequently they do not even join us before dinner; but we find them all assembled, at the head of the table, when we enter the dining room; and even there we have little of their company, for the party is often so badly arranged, that we have scarcely more of the society of the ladies, and the people of the island, than if we had remained on board ship. Instead of the different persons being intermixed, it is common to see the ladies grouped together in a crowd at the upper end of the table—the officers and strangers, just arrived from Europe, placed at one side,—and the gentlemen of the island, who are mutual and familiar acquaintances, at the other side—implying that it is considered a rule of politeness to place each person nearest to those with whom he is best acquainted.

‘The attendants at the dinner table are very numerous. In addition to those of the family, almost every gentleman has his own slave; and, thus, it often happens that the room is quite crowded with sable domestics, whose surfaces emit an odour not less savoury than the richest dishes of the board. How long it may be before our olfactories become reconciled to this high-seasoning of a West India feast I cannot conjecture; but, at present, we find it extremely offensive. Poor Master is particularly annoyed by it, and always takes care to obtain a seat as much *to windward* as possible. Cleghorn and myself suffer no less from a most filthy custom of the negroes

—of taking a plate from the side-board, before it is wanted, and standing with it under the arm, ready to give it at the moment a change is required. On account of this dirty habit, we are obliged to attend with eagle watchfulness to avoid receiving as a clean one, a plate which a slave has been holding for some time closely pressed to, certainly, not the sweetest part of his naked skin.

‘ In point of clothing the people of Barbadoes deviate less from the habits of England than the difference of climate would seem to warrant. Their dress resembles that worn in our more northern latitude, being for the most part a cloth coat, with white cotton waistcoat, and nankeen pantaloons. In some instances people of very active employment, or those who are much exposed in the field, have the whole suit made of nankeen. Their night clothing seems more appropriate to the greater heat of climate than the apparel of the day. It is common to sleep on a hard mattress in a long cotton shirt, without any other covering, except in the coolest season, when they make the slight addition of a simple cotton sheet.

‘ One of the most prominent characteristics of the island is the tedious langour in which the people of Barbadoes pronounce their words. Nothing perhaps is more annoying to strangers. To convey to you, by the pen, any idea of their manner of speaking is utterly impossible:—to be comprehended, it must be heard. The languid syllables are drawled out as if it were a great fatigue to utter them; and the tortured ear of an European grows irritable and impatient in waiting for the end of a word, or sentence. “*How you do to da—ay,*” spoken by a Barbadian creole, consumes nearly as much time as might suffice for all the compliments of the morning! nor is this wearisome pronunciation confined to the people of colour only. It occurs likewise among the whites, particularly those who have not visited Europe, or resided for some time away from the island. In the same lengthened accent do the lower orders of Barbadians, in unrestrained impetuous rage, pour forth volleys of uncommonly dreadful oaths, which, in their horrible combinations and epithets, form imprecations so strongly impious, as to entitle them to the *merit* of peculiarity.

‘ In manner also and in movement, as well as in speech, a degree of indolence and inaction prevails, beyond what might be expected, merely from heat of climate, and which has in it a something extremely annoying to Europeans.

‘ Very much to the discredit of Barbadoes numbers of old, diseased, decrepit negroes, at once objects of compassion and of horror, are seen lying at the corners, or begging about the streets. This, like the toleration of the swarms of mendicants in England, is an evil, and a nuisance, for which there is no excuse. If these poor unfortunate negroes are free, they should be relieved by a general tax upon the island: if slaves, the law should compel every master to provide for his own.

‘ The first specimen we saw of West India negroes—the first example of slaves was singularly calculated to impress us with sentiments of compassion and disgust. It occurred at the very moment too when the impression would be most powerful, and consequently ever remain indelible. Immediately on our coming to anchor in Carlisle bay, a woman appeared alongside the ship in a small boat with some bad fruit, tobacco, salt fish, and other articles of traffic. She was rowed by two negroes, who we learned were her slaves. Two such objects of human form and human misery had never before met our eyes! They were feeble, miserable, and dejected—half-starved, and half-naked; and, in figure, too accurately resembling hungry and distempered grey-hounds! They crouched upon their heels and haunches in the boat—the naked bones almost pierced their filthy and eruptive skins—their wasted frames trembled with debility—and while their hollow eyes and famished countenances rendered them ghastly images of horror, their whole appearance shocked humanity, and appalled the sight!—Are these, we exclaimed, what are called slaves? Is this the state to which human beings are reduced in bondage?—Afflicting and cruel indeed! Well may slavery be deemed a curse! Can it be possible that these spectres once were men! Are such the objects we are to see—are these the wretched and deplorable beings who are to appear every day, and every hour before our eyes! Forbid it humanity: forbid it heaven!—Such was the catastrophe of the moment, and I feel a sincere

gratification in being able to inform you, that the melancholy subjects of this first impression were not correct specimens of the general mass of slaves.

‘ But it is easy to distinguish the slaves of the opulent and respectable inhabitants from those of the poor and needy people of the town. The latter, being in poverty themselves, can only give to their negroes a scanty allowance of food, while their indigence induces them to exact an over-proportion of labour. Hence the slaves of this class of people appear too often with sharp bones and hungry flavid countenances, having eruptions about the body, and their skins of an unhealthy obfuscate hue. Their general appearance is indeed dirty and unwholesome, and strikingly marks their dejected state. Want and wretchedness are deeply stamped in every line of their persons—and they may not unaptly be said to resemble the worn-out horse, or the starved and jaded ass, too often seen trembling under a heavy burden—or reeling in an old tattered cart upon the roads of England.

‘ It is not the practice to load the slaves with superfluity of clothing.—A shirt, and a pair of breeches, or only the latter for the men; and a single petticoat for the women, constitute the whole apparel.—Bedding and bed-clothes find no place in their list of necessaries; they usually sleep on a hard plank, in the clothing of the day. Repose is both ensured and sweetened to them by labour—and the head needs no pillow but the arm. Some who, by means of industry and œconomy, are more advanced in their little comforts, procure a kind of matting, a paillasse of plaintain leaves, or some other species of bedding, to defend them from the rough plank; but this is an indulgence self-attained, not a necessary provided by the master. The architecture of their little huts is as rude as it is simple. A roof of plantain leaves, with a few rough boards, nailed to the coarse pillars which support it, forms the whole building.—The leeward-side is commonly left in part open, and the roof projects for some distance over the door-way, forming a defence against both the sun and the rain.

‘ Notwithstanding the great heat experienced by Europeans, the negroes feel the evenings chilly, and we frequently see

them crowding round the bit of fire which they make for cooking their supper. This is commonly in the open air near to the door of the hut; but they sometimes place it upon the middle of the dirty floor withinside the building—where they seem to have great enjoyment in squatting round it, amidst the thick cloud of smoke, to whiff additional fumes from the short pipe or segar, and to join in loud and merry song.

‘The food of the negroes is issued to them weekly, under the inspection of the manager. It is very simple and but little varied; breakfast, dinner, and supper being similar to each other, and for the most part the same throughout the year. It consists mostly of Guinea corn, with a small bit of salt meat—or salt fish. Formerly a bunch of plantains was given to each slave as the weekly allowance; but the plantain walks being mostly worn out, this is become an expensive provision. Rice, maize, yams, eddoes, and sweet potatoes, form an occasional change, but the Guinea corn is commonly issued as the weekly supply; and in order to have some variety of food, they barter this in exchange for other provisions, or sell it for money, and with that buy salt meat or vegetables. We occasionally see them offering the Guinea corn for sale; and on being asked why they sell it, they thus express themselves—“Me no like for have him Guinea corn always! Massa gib me Guinea corn too much—Guinea corn to day—Guinea corn to-morrow—Guinea corn eb’ry day—Me no like him Guinea corn—him Guinea corn no good for gnhyam.”

‘The weekly supply being issued to them on the Sunday, it becomes their own care how to husband it so as to have a sufficiency of food until the following Sabbath. Those who are industrious have little additions of their own, either from vegetables grown on the spot of ground allotted to them, or purchased with the money obtained for the pig, the goat, or other stock raised about their huts in the negro yard.

‘The common round of labour of the slaves is from sun-rise to sun-set, having intervals of rest allowed them, at the times of breakfast and dinner.

‘The negroes are generally sad thieves; they appear to know no sense of honesty. Ignorant of all moral principle,

they steal without feeling any sense of wrong, and without any apprehension, except that of being detected. The planters are obliged to employ one or two of the most trusty of them in the capacity of watchmen to guard, by close and constant attention, the orchards, plantain walks, provision stores, and the like, from the depredations of their own and their neighbour's slaves. Although they have no remorse in stealing whensoever and wheresoever opportunity offers, still they feel peculiarly prone to robbing their masters; and this they do not even consider a theft, as is too evident by an expression very common among them, viz, "*Me no tief him: me take him from Massa.*"

Our author visited three poor families lineally descended from parents originally English, and he declares that though these people had lived nearly 200 years in the island, yet their children were as fair, and their features as correctly European, as any born in England. The skin of their parents also was only tanned where exposed to the sun, and the other parts of their bodies were fair. This, he thinks, is a decisive argument against the opinion that climate is the cause of the difference of colour in the human race.

Another small branch of admiral Cornwallis's fleet arrived on the 13th of April, and immediately after Dr. Pinckard was ordered to join a secret expedition, which was put under the command of general Whyte. The operations of this division our author relates as follows:—

‘ *Ship Grenada, at sea, April 17.*

‘ THE apprehended division of our long associated mess has taken place! We were ordered away at a very short notice. On the morning of the 14th instant, I received instructions to embark on board the Grenada transport before 12 o'clock; and to take upon me the direction of a detachment of the hospital staff, appointed to attend a division of the army, which was to sail that afternoon, on secret service.

‘ Being advised to take with me as little baggage as possible, and assured that I might expect soon to return, in order

to proceed with general Whyte to St. Domingo, I made up a soldier's kit of apparel, and left all my heavier packages, under the care of my late comrades, in the Lord Sheffield.

'The Grenada is a very fine vessel, and sails remarkably well. Like the Lord Sheffield, she is a West India trader, engaged as a transport only for the passage out, and as soon as she has completed her voyage is to return to England laden with sugar, cotton, or other West India produce.

'I thought myself fortunate in being appointed to so good a ship; and, hearing that troops were to be thickly stowed on board the different vessels of the expedition, anticipated much of comfort upon the passage, by observing that the Grenada was free from the crowd I had expected to meet. But my self-gratulations proved to be somewhat premature. Upwards of 300 troops arrived quickly after, and a scene of crowd and confusion was introduced surpassing all that even fancy had created. Many of the men were intoxicated—most of them were up to their knees in water in the boat, and some as wet from head to foot as if they had been dragged through the sea. In the hurry of scrambling up the ship, two of them fell overboard, and narrowly escaped being drowned. The decks soon became so crowded, as to render it impossible to pass, and amidst the throng of living stowage a further inconvenience was produced from the hatch-ways being obliged to be opened for the reception of cannon, ammunition, baggage, and other stores, which the ship's company were hoisting in on all sides.

'Negroes, sailors, soldiers, and officers all mingled together, in one hurried and anxious mass—some hard at work—some cursing and swearing—some reeling in drunkenness—some scrambling for a knapsack, or a firelock—some losing their hats—some hoisting baggage up the ship's side—some jumping on board—some hawling in provisions at the stern—each seeking individual or general accommodation—and all adding to the common confusion.

'In the afternoon we were visited by the general, who came on board, to see if every thing was embarked ready for sailing in the evening: but the time required for getting in the guns and other heavy stores, and the numerous impediments occur-

ring from such multitudes of persons crowding on board at the same moment, rendered this altogether impossible---however, by the great exertions which were made, we were able to get under weigh at an early hour the following morning.

‘ The lieutenant-colonel commanding the regiment, the commanding officer of artillery, and myself, are the only officers who have the accommodation of separate births: all the others are obliged to be crowded together without beds, or mattresses, upon the naked decks of the cabins, and even there, they are compelled to close-stowage to make room for them all.

‘ Upon the upper deck the soldiers are still more thickly spread, they lie down without any covering than their clothes of the day, using the arm, or the knapsack as a pillow: and so well do they stow that not a foot can find place between them. Happily the wind is very favourable, and we are led to believe that wheresoever we are bound the voyage will not be long. Having the steady breeze of the trades on her quarter, the ship is worked almost wholly by the helm, and we seldom require to shift the sails---occasional bracing being all that is necessary. Had the weather been bad and the wind against us, you will readily imagine the state we must have been in, with such a body of men, sick, and ill, and crowded in every quarter of the ship. Even as it is we have much difficulty in keeping them clean to preserve them in health. They lie down in their clothes at night, where they have been standing or sitting the whole day, and from making the deck at once their sitting bench, their dinner board, and their bed, all about them soon grows filthy and offensive: pieces of broken food---sloppings of broth, or grog, bits of meat, old bones, crumbs of biscuit, and various other kinds of filth collect under them, and about their clothing; and, from the great heat of climate, and still more unpleasant heat of the crowd, this dirty commixture soon becomes sour and fetid; and would in a short time generate disease, were not some rigid rules of cleanliness strictly enforced.

‘ Besides those who sleep upon the open deck above, there is another crowd in a more confined situation between decks. Observing this place to be very close, and not sufficiently ven-

tilated, I have recommended that the men should be divided into three watches, and that two of the three divisions should be kept constantly upon the open deck, relieving those below every four hours. Likewise as a further means of prevention I have advised that all the men should bathe every morning, while the decks are thoroughly washed and cleaned. Fortunately I am supported in this by the approbation of colonel Tilson, who is exceedingly zealous to do every thing that can preserve the health of the soldiers, and has issued his orders accordingly.

‘ We have contrived a method whereby the bathing is effected with less trouble than was at first apprehended. The men are regularly assembled by companies upon the quarter-deck, at an early hour of the morning, and there undressing, two at a time, they go down to the waist of the ship, and remain at the bottom of the step leading from the quarter-deck, until two or three buckets of water have been dashed upon them by some of their comrades standing directly above them upon the edge of the quarter-deck, others being stationed at the sides to draw up water for the purpose. After being thus washed, they move on to the fore-castle to dress themselves, others following in succession until the whole are bathed.

‘ We find some difficulty in establishing this practice, but I hope in a few days to see it brought to the regularity of a military movement: the benefit of it is not confined simply to cleanliness of person, for while the bathing is going on, the decks, where the men sleep, are thoroughly swept and washed, and it is matter of surprize to see the prodigious quantity of dirt, of remnants of food, and various other species of filth which collect within four-and-twenty hours. Its utility is also further extended, in the general movement it creates, and the refreshing coolness it brings to every one on board. Were the voyage to be long, our experience of the few past days seems to assure us that this daily washing would not merely be our best, but perhaps our only preservative from sickness.

‘ The expedition consists of about 1,300 men of the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments, commanded by lieutenant-colonels Tilson, Hislop, and Gammell, and a party of artillery, under

command of captain Bagot. The squadron of the fleet employed with us is commanded by commodore Parr, and consists of the Malabar of 50 guns, La Pique, Le Babet, and the Undaunted frigates—to which are added, the Grenada armed transport, with several sloops and schooners.

‘At the time we were sailing from Carlisle bay on the morning of the 15th, an alarm was fired, and the signal hoisted, denoting the approach of a fleet; but it was too distant, and the weather too hazy for us to ascertain distinctly what fleet it was—perhaps the long expected convoy; or possibly only another severed division of it. Even should it prove to have been the body of the fleet, bringing in the great bulk of the armament, it still is an extraordinary instance of delay, from adverse weather, that a convoy which sailed from Spithead early in November, should only reach Barbadoes on the 15th of April following, and it must stand as a striking example of the incalculable uncertainty of all maritime expeditions.

‘I must not forget to note to you that I am now addressing you from the opposite side of the sun. This day in latitude 9 deg. 17 min. we passed immediately under that burning orb, receiving his perpendicular rays directly upon our heads. I have nothing further to tell you on this occasion. His southern face seems neither hotter, nor colder, brighter nor darker, than his northern. The only striking peculiarity arises from the novelty of looking to the north at noon, to take our meridian, and habit will be required to reconcile this seeming inconsistency.’

Having thus conducted our intelligent and amusing author to the shores of Guiana, we will resume his lively narrative in the succeeding volume.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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